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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,

IN TEN VOLUMES,

By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Newly tranſlated from the French,

By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

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BOOK X.

Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America.

BOOK X.

Consideration upon the conduct of all the European nation in the New World.

HITHERTO we have been only proceeding from one ſcene of horror to another; in following the ſteps of the Spaniards and of the Portugueze. Let us now ſee whether the Engliſh, French, Hollanders, and Danes, whom we are going to accompany into the iſlands, have ſhew'n themſelves leſs ſavage than thoſe who took poſſeſſion of the continent. Will the inhabitants of theſe limited ſpaces be expoſed to the deplorable deſtiny of the Peruvians, of the Mexicans,

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and of the Brazilians? Is it poſſible that civilized men, who have all lived in their country under forms of government, if not wiſe, at leaſt antient; who have all been bred up in places where they were inſtructed with the leſſons, and, ſometimes, with the example of virtue; who were all brought up in the midſt of poliſhed cities, in which a rigid exerciſe of juſtice muſt have accuſtomed them to reſpect their fellow-creatures; is it poſſible that all ſuch men, without exception, ſhould purſue a line of conduct equally contrary to the principles of humanity, to their intereſt, to their ſafety, and to the firſt dawnings of reaſon; and that they ſhould continue to become more barbarous than the ſavage? Shall I, for ever, be reduced to the neceſſity of preſenting none but horrid images? Good God! For what an office was I deſtined? This change of character, in the European who quits his country, is a phenomenon of ſo extraordinary a nature, the imagination is ſo deeply affected with it, that while it attends to it with aſtoniſhment, reflection tortures itſelf in endeavouring to find out the principle of it, whether it exiſt in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character of the navigators, or in the circumſtances preceding or poſterior to the event.

It is a queſtion which naturally occurs, Whether a man who is freed, by whatſoever cauſe, from the reſtraint of the laws, be not more wicked than the man who hath never felt this reſtraint? Perſons who are ſufficiently diſſatisfied with their lot, ſufficiently deprived of reſources in their own country, ſufficiently poor, or ſufficiently ambi-

tious to entertain a contempt for life, and to expoſe themſelves to infinite dangers and labours, upon the precarious hope of making a rapid fortune; do they not carry about with them the fatal ſeeds of a ſpirit of depredation, which muſt unavoidably have manifeſted itſelf with inconceivable rapidity and violence, when they came into another climate, far from the effects of public reſentment, and when they were no longer awed by the preſence of their fellow citizens, or reſtrained by ſhame or fear? Doth not the hiſtory of all ſocieties prove to us, that thoſe men on whom nature hath beſtowed an extraordinary degree of energy, are moſt commonly villains? The danger of a long ſtay, and the neceſſity of a ſpeedy return, added to the deſire of juſtifying the expences incurred in the enterprize, by a diſplay of the riches of the lately diſcovered countries, muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned and accelerated the violent ſteps taken to acquire the poſſeſſion of them. Did not the chiefs of the enterprize, and their companions, terrified by the dangers they had undergone, by thoſe which they were ſtill to undergo, and by the miſeries they had ſuffered, did they not determine to make themſelves amends for their ſufferings, like men who were reſolved not to expoſe themſelves to them a ſecond time? Did the idea of forming a colony in thoſe diſtant regions, and of increaſing the dominions of their ſovereign with them, ever preſent itſelf diſtinctly to the minds of theſe firſt adventurers; and did not the New World rather appear to them, as a rich prey that was to be devoured, than as a conqueſt which they ought

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to protect? Was not the miſchief begun by theſe atrocious motives, perpetuated, ſometimes by the indifference of miniſters, and ſometimes by the diviſions between the European nations; and was it not arrived to the utmoſt pitch, when times of tranquillity inſpired our governments with more rational principles? Had the firſt deputies, to whom the authority and inſpection of thoſe countries had been intruſted; or could they have the knowlege, and the virtue requiſite to make themſelves beloved by the natives, to conciliate their reſpect and confidence, and to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of police and laws among them? Did they not, on the contrary, carry along with them, to thoſe diſtant regions, the ſame thirſt of gold which had laid them waſte? Could it be expected, that at the origin of theſe ſettlements a plan of adminiſtration could be formed, which the experience of ſeveral centuries hath not been capable of eſtabliſhing? Is it poſſible, even in our days, to rule nations which are ſeparated by immenſe ſeas from the mother-country, in the ſame manner as ſubjects who are ſituated immediately under the eye of the ſovereign? Since diſtant poſts are never ſolicited and filled, unleſs by indigent, rapacious men, without talents or morals, ſtrangers to all ſentiment of honour, and to every idea of equity, the refuſe of the higher ranks of the ſtate, muſt we not conſider the ſplendour of the colonies, in after times, as a chimerical notion; and will not the future happineſs of theſe regions be a phænomenon ſtill more ſurpriſing, than their firſt devaſtation was

ACCURSED, therefore, be the moment of their diſcovery! And you, European ſovereigns, what motive can excite your jealous ambition for poſſeſſions, the miſery of which you can only perpetuate? And why do ye not reſtore them to themſelves, if ye deſpair of making them happy? I have, more than once, ventured, in the courſe of this work, to point out to you the means of accompliſhing this: but, I am much afraid, that my voice hath only exclaimed, and will only exclaim in the deſert.

AMERICA contains, between the eighth and the thirty-ſecond degree of northern latitude, the moſt numerous, extenſive, and rich Archipelago the ocean hath yet diſplayed to the curioſity, the induſtry, and avidity of the Europeans. The iſlands that compoſe it are know'n, ſince the diſcovery of the New World, by the name of the Caribbees. Thoſe that lie neareſt the Eaſt, have been called the Windward Iſlands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the wind's blowing generally from the eaſtern point in thoſe quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which ſeems to be attached to the continent near the gulph of Maracaybo; the other, to cloſe the entrance of the gulph of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with ſome degree of reaſon, be conſidered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, and which have been changed into iſlands, by ſome revolution that hath laid all the flat country under water.

ALL the iſlands of the world ſeem to have been detached from the continent by ſubterraneous fires, or earthquakes.

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Is it probable that the American iſlands have been detached from the neighbouring continent?

THE celebrated Atlantica, the very name of which hath been buried in oblivion ſome thouſand years ago, was a large tract of land ſituated between Africa and America. Several circumſtances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily hath evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd Iſlands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, muſt have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been deſtroyed. The late obſervations of Engliſh navigators leave us ſcarce any room to doubt, that all the iſlands of the South Sea formerly compoſed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largeſt of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguiſhed volcanos. It's inhabitants are neither beardleſs nor copper-colored, as thoſe of America; and though they be ſeparated ſix hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they ſpeak the ſame language as the natives of the iſland of Otaheite, diſcovered a few years ago.

INDISPUTABLE monuments evince that ſuch changes have happened, of which the attentive naturaliſt every where perceives ſome traces ſtill remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oyſters, ſea-fiſh, entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the moſt diſtant from the ſea, in the bowels, and on the ſurfaces of mountains; the variableneſs of the continent, ſubject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is conſtantly beaten, wor'n away, or ſubverted; while at a diſtance, perpaps,

on

on one ſide it loſes immenſe tracts of land; on the other diſcovers to us new countries, and long banks of ſand heaped up before thoſe cities that formerly were celebrated ſea-ports: the horizontal and parallel poſition of the ſtrata of the earth, and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the ſame order, compoſed of the ſame materials, that are regularly cemented by the conſtant and ſucceſſive exertion of the ſame cauſe: the correſpondent ſimilarity obſervable between ſuch coaſts as are ſeparated by an arm of the ſea; on one ſide of which may be perceived ſalient angles oppoſite to re-entering angles on the other; on the right-hand, beds of the ſame kind of ſand, or ſimilar petrifactions, diſpoſed on a level with ſimilar ſtrata, extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the ſea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immenſe body of fluid hath, as it were, ſtamped indelible marks of it's undulations: all theſe ſeveral circumſtances atteſt, that the ocean hath broken it's natural limits, or, perhaps, that it's limits have never been inſurmountable; and that varying the ſurface of the globe, according to the irregularity of it's own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from it's inhabitants, and reſtored it to them again. Hence thoſe ſucceſſive, though never univerſal, deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally inviſible to us at once; for the waters, acting at the ſame time in the cavities and on the ſurface of the globe, cannot poſſibly increaſe

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creaſe the depth of their beds, without diminiſhing their breadth; or overflow on one ſide, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole ſyſtem that can poſſibly have made all the mountains diſappear at once, and occaſioned the ſea to riſe above their ſummits. What a ſudden transformation muſt have forced all the rocks and every ſolid particle of matter to the center of the earth, to draw out of it's inmoſt receſſes and channels all thoſe fluids which animate it; and thus blending it's ſeveral elements together, produce a maſs of waters and uſeleſs germina floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemiſphere, alternately, becomes a prey to the devaſtations of the ocean? Such conſtant ſhocks as theſe, have doubtleſs ſo long concealed from us the New World, and, perhaps, ſwallowed up that continent, which, as it is imagined, had been only ſeparated from our own.

WHATEVER may be the ſecret cauſes of theſe particular revolutions, the general cauſe of which reſults from the know'n and univerſal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always ſenſible to every man, who hath the reſolution and ſagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee Iſlands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent ſhocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordeleras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is ſhaken. This Archipelago, as well as that of the Eaſt Indies, ſituated nearly in the ſame degree of latitude, ſeems to be produced by the ſame cauſe;

cauſe; namely, the motion of the ſea from Eaſt to Weſt: a motion impreſſed by that which cauſes the earth's revolution from Weſt to Eaſt; more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle, and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean ſeems, as it were, willing to break through all the boundaries nature oppoſes to it, and, opening to itſelf a free and uninterrupted courſe, forms the equinoctial line.

The direction of the Caribbee Iſlands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly North and N. N. W. This direction is continued from one iſland to another, forming a line ſomewhat curved towards the North-weſt, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and extending itſelf in a ſtreight direction to the W. and N. W. meets in it's courſe with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, know'n by the name of the Leeward Iſlands, which are ſeparated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of theſe are ſix, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the ſoundings, in all of them, are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent's there is alſo a ſmall Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which, ſometimes, the ſoundings are not ten fathom.

The mountains in the Caribbee Iſlands run in the ſame direction as the iſlands themſelves. This direction is ſo regular, that if we were to conſider the tops of theſe mountains only, independent of their baſes, they might be looked upon as a chain

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of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the moſt north-weſterly promontory.

The ſprings of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward Iſlands, run all in the weſtern part of theſe iſlands. The whole eaſtern coaſt, that which, according to our conjectures, hath always been covered by the ſea, is without any running water. No ſprings come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been uſeleſs, for, after having run over a very ſhort tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the ſea.

In Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers which diſcharge themſelves into the ſea on the northern ſide, and the ſources of which riſe in the mountains, running from eaſt to weſt, that is, through the whole length of theſe iſlands. Theſe rivers water a conſiderable extent of low country, which hath certainly never been covered by the ſea. From the other ſide of the mountains facing the ſouth, where the ſea, flowing with great impetuoſity, leaves behind it marks of it's inundations, ſeveral rivers flow into theſe three iſlands, ſome of which are conſiderable enough to receive the largeſt ſhips.

These obſervations, which ſeem to prove that the ſea hath ſeparated the Caribbee Iſlands from the continent, are further confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally concluſive in ſupport of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta, and Trinidad, iſlands that are the neareſt to the continent, produce, as well as the Caribbees, trees the

the wood of which is ſoft, and wild cocoa. This particular ſpecies is not to be found, at leaſt in any quantity, in the northern iſlands. In theſe the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, ſituated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which, perhaps, it hath been ſeparated, with cedars and cypreſſes, both equally uſeful for the building of ſhips.

Nature of the ſoil of the Caribbee Iſlands. Vegetables found there before the invaſion.

THE ſoil of the Caribbees conſiſts moſtly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickneſs; under which is a bed of ſtone or rock. The nature of ſome of theſe ſoils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In thoſe places where the clay is drier and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed of greater depth, than where the clay is moiſter. The ſand or gravel has different properties according to it's peculiar nature; wherever it is leſs hard, leſs compact, and leſs porous, ſmall pieces ſeparate themſelves from it; which, though dry, preſerve a certain degree of coolneſs uſeful to vegetation. This ſoil is called in America, a pumice-ſtone ſoil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through ſuch modifications, the ſoil becomes barren, as ſoon as the layer, formed by the decompoſition of the original plants, is deſtroyed, from the neceſſity there is of weeding it, which too frequently expoſes it's ſalts to the heat of the ſun. Hence, in thoſe cultures which require leſs weeding, and where the plant covers with it's leaves the vegetable ſalts, there the fertility of the ground hath been preſerved.

WHEN

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When the Europeans landed at the Caribbee Iſlands, they found them covered with large trees, connected, as it were, to one another by a ſpecies of creeping plant; which, riſing up in the ſame manner as the ivy, wove itſelf around all the branches, and concealed them from the ſight. There was ſo great a plenty of this plant, and it grew ſo thick, that it was impoſſible to penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From it's great degree of flexibility it was called Liane. In theſe foreſts, as old as the world itſelf, there were varieties of trees, which, from a ſingular partiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding ſtraight, and without any excreſcences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time, formed a moiſt ſediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occaſioned a ſurpriſing degree of vegetation in thoſe plants that were ſubſtituted to the trees that were rooted up.

In whatever ſoil theſe trees grew, their roots were ſcarcely two feet deep, and generally much leſs: though they extended themſelves on the ſurface, in proportion to the weight they had to ſupport. The exceſſive dryneſs of the ground, where the moſt plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are ſoon attracted by the ſun-beams, and the conſtant dews that moiſten the ſurface, made the roots of theſe plants extend themſelves horizontally, inſtead of deſcending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

The

THE trees that grew on the tops of mountains and in ſteep places were very hard. The ſharpeſt cutting inſtrument could ſcarcely make any impreſſion upon them. Such were the agouti, the palm-tree, and the barata wood, which have ſince been uſefully employed in building. Such were the courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, and the iron-wood, which have been found fit for joiner's work. Such is the acoma, which being either put into the ground, or expoſed to the air, is preſerved for a long time without being attacked by the worms, or rotted by the damp. Such the maple, the trunk of which, being four or five feet in diameter, and the ſtem from forty to fifty feet high, ſerved to make a canoe of one ſingle piece.

THE vallies, which are rendered fertile by the mountains, are covered with ſoft wood. At the foot of theſe trees, grew promiſcuouſly thoſe plants that the liberality of the ſoil produced for the ſubſiſtence of the natives of the country. Thoſe in moſt general uſe were the yam, the Caribbee cabbage, and the battata, the roots of which being tuberoſe, like thoſe of the potatoe, might equally afford a wholeſome nouriſhment. Nature, which appears to have eſtabliſhed a certain analogy between the characters of people and the proviſions intended for their ſupport, had provided the Caribbee Iſlands with ſuch vegetables as could not bear the heat of the ſun, flouriſhed beſt in moiſt places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The iſlanders did not thwart the free and ſpontaneous operations

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rations of nature, by deſtroying one of her productions, to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating ſalts was entirely left to the mere effect of the ſoil; nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered, as chance threw in their way, or the ſeaſon pointed out, ſuch fruits as ſpontaneouſly offered themſelves for their ſupport. They had obſerved, that the putrefaction of the weeds was neceſſary to the reproduction of thoſe plants that were moſt uſeful to them.

The roots of theſe plants were never unwholeſome; but they were inſipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unleſs they were ſeaſoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant ſomewhat reſembling our ſorrel, they produced a ſtrong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the ſavages. The only art they made uſe of in preparing it, was ſuffering it to ferment ſome days in common water, expoſed to the heat of the ſun.

Exclusive of this nouriſhment, the iſlands alſo ſupplied the inhabitants with a great variety of fruits, but very different from our's. The moſt uſeful among theſe was the banana. The root of the banana tree is tuberoſe and hairy. It's ſtem, which is ſlender and ſoft, grows to ſeven feet at it's utmoſt height, and is eight inches in diameter: it is compoſed of ſeveral coats, or concentric ſheaths, tolerably thick, and each of them terminated by a firm petiole, hollowed in form of a gutter, and which ſupports a leaf of ſix feet

feet long, and two feet wide. Theſe leaves, collected in a ſmall number at the bottom of the ſtem, bend by their own weight, and dry up one after the other. They are thin, very ſmooth, green on the upper ſurface, of a paler colour on the under, and furniſhed with parallel fibres, which are very cloſe to each other, are joined at the coſta, and give the leaf a ſattiny appearance. At the end of nine months, the banana tree puſhes out from the midſt of it's leaves, when they are all unfolded, a ſprig of three or four feet long, and two feet in diameter, furniſhed at intervals with ſemicircular bands, which each of them ſupports, a cluſter of a dozen or more flowers, covered with a ſpatha, or membranous incloſure. Each piſtil is charged with a ſtile of ſix ſtamina and one calix, with two leaves, one external, lengthened out, and terminated by five indentations; the other internal, ſhorter, and concave. This piſtil, and one of the ſtamina, are abortive in the flowers at the extremity, the cluſters of which are ſmall, cloſe, and concealed under coloured and permanent incloſures. In the other flowers, five of the ſtamina are found abortive; but the piſtil becomes a fleſhy fruit, elongated, ſlightly arched, covered with a yellow and thick pellicle, and filled with a pulpy, yellowiſh ſubſtance, of a ſweetiſh taſte, and very nouriſhing. The aſſemblage of theſe fruits, to the number of fifty, and upwards, upon the ſame ſtem, is called a *regime* of bananas; which is as much as a man can carry. While it is upon the ſtem, it's weight makes it bend towards

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towards the ground. As ſoon as it is gathered, this ſtem dries up, and is ſucceeded by freſh ſprigs, which come out of the root, and flower nine months after, or later, when they are tranſplanted. There is no other way of multiplying the banana tree, which never yields any ſeed.

This plant exhibits a number of varieties, which conſiſt only in the form, the ſize, and the goodneſs of the fruit. It is agreeable to the taſte, and is eaten raw, or prepared in ſeveral ways.

One ſingular circumſtance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promiſcuouſly blended with the former. Nature ſeemed, as it were, to have preſcribed to it, to reſpect what ſhe had deſtined for the ſuſtenance of man.

The iſlanders were not ſo plentifully ſupplied with pot-herbs as with roots and fruits. Purſlain and creſſes were the only herbs of this kind they had.

Their other food was confined within a very narrow compaſs: they had no tame fowl, and the only quardupeds that were fit for food, did not amount to more than five ſorts; the largeſt of which did not exceed in ſize our common rabbits. The birds, more pleaſing to the eye, though leſs varied than in our climates, were valuable almoſt only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth thoſe melting notes that are ſo captivating to the ear; moſt of them were extremely thin, and very inſipid to the taſte. Fiſh was

nearly

nearly as plentiful as in other ſeas, but generally leſs wholeſome, and leſs delicate.

THE virtues of the plants that nature had placed in theſe iſlands, to cure the very few diſorders the inhabitants were ſubject to, can ſcarce be exaggerated. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infuſion, their effects were as ſpeedy as ſalutary. The invaders of thoſe formerly peaceable regions have employed theſe ſimples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Aſia can furniſh to the reſt of the world.

Is the climate of theſe iſlands agreeable and wholeſome?

THE generality of the inhabitants of theſe iſlands conſider but two ſeaſons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whoſe operations are conſtant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But thoſe who attentively obſerve her progreſs, diſcern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions, and the changes of vegetation, ſhe obſerves the ſame laws as in Europe, though in a leſs ſenſible manner.

THESE almoſt imperceptible changes, are no preſervative againſt the dangers and inconveniences of ſuch a ſcorching climate as muſt be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As theſe iſlands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are expoſed, allowing for the varieties reſulting from difference of ſituation and of ſoil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increaſes from the riſing of the ſun till an hour after noon, and then decreaſes in proportion as the ſun declines.

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A covered ſky, that might ſerve to alleviate this heat, is ſeldom ſeen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two, but the ſun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

The variations in the temperature of the air, depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the ſeaſons. In thoſe places where the wind doth not blow, the air is exceſſively hot, and none but the eaſterly winds contribute to temperate and refreſh it; thoſe that blow from the ſouth and weſt afford little relief, but they are much leſs frequent and leſs regular than that which comes from the eaſt. The branches of the trees expoſed to it's influence, are forced round towards the weſt, in that direction which they ſeemed to be throw'n into, by the conſtant and uniform courſe of the wind. But their roots are ſtronger and more extended under ground towards the eaſt, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, the reſiſtance of which may counteract the power of the ruling wind. Accordingly, it hath been obſerved, that whenever the weſterly wind blows with any violence, the trees are eaſily throw'n down; in order therefore to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be conſidered.

The eaſterly wind depends upon two invariable cauſes, the probability of which is very ſtriking. The firſt ariſes from the diurnal motion of the earth from weſt to eaſt, and which muſt neceſſarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, becauſe a greater ſpace muſt be paſſed over in the ſame time. The

ſecond is owen to the heat of the ſun, which, as ſoon as it riſes above the horizon, rarefies the air, and cauſes it to blow towards the weſt, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the eaſt.

THE eaſterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee Iſlands is ſcarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increaſes in proportion as the ſun riſes above the horizon; and decreaſes as it declines. Towards the evening it ceaſes entirely to blow on the coaſts, but not on the open ſea. The reaſons of this difference are very evident. After the ſetting of the ſun, the air from the land, that continues for a conſiderable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are conſtantly riſing from the heated globe, neceſſarily flows back upon the air of the ſea: this is what is generally called a land breeze. It is moſt ſenſibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the ſea, rarefied by the heat of the ſun, flows back again towards the land, where the air hath been condenſed by the coolneſs of the night. It hath alſo been obſerved, that the eaſterly wind blows more regularly and with greater force in the dog-days, than at any other times of the year; becauſe the ſun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature cauſes the exceſſive heat of the ſun to contribute to the refreſhment of thoſe climates that are parched up by it's rays. It is thus, that in fire-engines art makes the fire inſtrumental in ſupplying conſtantly with freſh water the copper veſſels from which it is exhauſted by evaporation.

THE rain contributes alſo to the temperature of the American iſlands, though not equally in them

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them all. In thoſe places where the eaſterly wind meets with nothing to oppoſe it's progreſs, it diſpels the clouds as they begin to riſe, and compels them to break, either in the woods or upon the mountains. But whenever the ſtorms are too violent, or the blowing of the eaſterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the ſouthern and weſterly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee Iſlands, where this wind doth not generally blow, the rains are ſo frequent and plentiful, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, which laſts from the middle of July to the middle of October; that, according to the moſt accurate obſervations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the ſpace of a year. Inſtead of thoſe mild and refreſhing ſhowers which we ſometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in theſe climates are torrents, the ſound of which might be miſtaken for that of hail, if this were not almoſt unknow'n under ſo burning a ſky.

These ſhowers, it muſt be allowed, refreſh the air; but they occaſion a dampneſs, the effects of which are no leſs diſagreeable than fatal. The dead muſt be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep ſweet above four and twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread muſt be made up into biſcuits, to prevent it's growing mouldy. Common wines ſoon turn ſour: and iron grows ruſty in a day's time. The ſeeds can only be preſerved by conſtant attention and care, till the proper ſeaſon returns for ſowing them.

them. When the Caribbee Iſlands were firſt diſcovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the ſupport of thoſe who could not accuſtom themſelves to the food of the natives of the country, was ſo ſoon damaged, that it became neceſſary to ſend it in the ears. This neceſſary precaution enhanced the price of it ſo much, that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then ſubſtituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of tranſport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was ſooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely ſeparated from the bran, which contributes to it's fermentation, it would have the double advantage of cheapneſs and of keeping longer. He cauſed it therefore to be ſifted, and put the fineſt flour into ſtrong caſks, and beat it cloſe together with iron hammers, till it became ſo hard a body, that the air could ſcarce penetrate it. Experience juſtified ſo ſenſible a contrivance; the practice of it hath become general, and been conſiderably improved ever ſince.

It was thought that nothing more remained to be done, when M. du Hamel propoſed another precaution, that of drying the flour in ſtoves, before it was embarked. This idea attracted the attention of the French miniſtry. Flour prepared in the new way, and ſome according to the former mode, was ſent to the other hemiſphere. Upon their return, the firſt had loſt nothing, and the laſt was half rotten and deprived of it's glutinous property. The ſame reſult hath attended all the experiments. It is pleaſing

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to hope, that a diſcovery ſo uſeful will not be loſt, for the nations that have formed ſettlements to the ſouth of America. If it doth not ſecure to the proviſions, the ſame degree of duration that they have in our dry and temperate climates, they will not at leaſt be corrupted ſo ſoon, and will be preſerved for a longer time.

Ordinary phœnomenon in the iſlands.

HOWEVER troubleſome theſe natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with ſome ſtill more formidable; ſuch as frequent and ſometimes dreadful earthquakes in the iſlands. As they generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and when the tides are higheſt, ſome ingenious naturaliſts have, therefore, ſuppoſed that they might be owen to theſe two cauſes.

THE waters of the ſky and of the ſea, undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in ſeveral ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts it's fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreſeen nor prevented. Among the various ſhocks to which it is conſtantly expoſed, from this reſtleſs and boiſterous element, there is one, which at the Caribbee iſlands is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It conſtantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the weſtern coaſts; becauſe it takes place after the time of the weſterly and ſoutherly winds, or while they blow. The waves, which at a diſtance ſeem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, ſuddenly ſwell againſt the ſhore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by ſome ſuperior force, and break with the greateſt impetuoſity.

impetuoſity. The ſhips, which are then upon the coaſt, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to put to ſea, or keep their anchors, are daſhed to pieces againſt the land, leaving the unhappy ſailors entirely without hopes of eſcaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for ſeveral hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the ſea hath been hitherto conſidered as the conſequence of a ſtorm. But a ſtorm follows the direction of the wind, from one point of the compaſs to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an iſland that is ſheltered by another iſland, where the ſhock is not at all perceived. This obſervation hath induced Mr. Dutaſta, who has travelled through Africa, and America, as a natural philoſopher, a merchant, and a ſtateſman, to ſeek for a more probable cauſe of this ſingular phænomenon. He hath not only diſcovered this, but alſo ſeveral other truths that may be uſeful to many of the ſciences, if he ſhould ever make them public. We ſhall then, probably, acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

The hurricane is a violent wind generally accompanied with rain, lightning and thunder, ſometimes with earthquakes; and always attended with the moſt melancholy and fatal conſequences that the wind can produce. The day which, in the torrid zone, is uſually bright and clear, is ſuddenly changed into a dark and univerſal night; the appearance of a perpetual ſpring, into the drearineſs and horror of the moſt gloomy winter. Trees, as ancient as the world itſelf, are tor'n up by the

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roots, and inſtantly diſappear. The ſtrongeſt and the moſt ſolid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itſelf with the proſpect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be ſeen but plantations entirely deſtroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy ſufferers, deprived of their whole ſupport, weep over the carcaſes of the dead, or ſearch among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noiſe of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder, and of the winds, that break againſt the ſhattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiſcuouſly involved in a whirlwind of ſand, ſtones, and ruins of buildings: all together ſeem to portend the laſt ſtruggles of expiring nature.

These hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether theſe violent concuſſions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain ſubſtances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not eaſily determined: but it hath been obſerved, that this ſeeming and temporary confuſion was not only a conſequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even diſſolution itſelf inſtrumental to regeneration, but alſo the means of preſerving the general ſyſtem, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the ſource of partial evil and of general good.

The firſt inhabitants of the Caribbee Iſlands imagined that they had diſcovered infallible prognoſtics of this alarming phænomenon. They obſerved,

ſerved, that when it was near at hand, the air was miſty, the ſun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth, and in the reſervoirs of water, a dull ſound was hear'd, like that ariſing from pent up winds. The ſtars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The ſky, in the north-weſt, was overſpread with dark and black clouds, that ſeemed very alarming. The ſea ſent forth a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell, and, in the midſt of a calm, was ſuddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from eaſt to weſt, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

THOUGH the truth of all theſe obſervations cannot be aſcertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas, and even prejudices of ſavage nations on times and ſeaſons, would be a ſeeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philoſophical inquiries. The want of employment of theſe people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity, and put them under a neceſſity, of obſerving the ſmalleſt alterations in the air, and of acquiring ſuch informations on this point, as have eſcaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed, and more devoted to works of a ſedentary nature. Poſſibly we muſt be indebted to the man who dwells in the foreſts for the diſcovery of effects, and to the learned man for the inveſtigation of cauſes. Let us trace, if poſſible, the cauſe of hurricanes, a phænomenon ſo frequent in America, that this alone would have been ſufficient

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to make it be deſerted, or render it uninhabitable many ages ago.

No hurricanes come from the eaſt, that is, from the greateſt extent of the ſea at the Caribbee Iſlands. As this is an acknowleged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The weſt wind which blows conſtantly, and ſometimes very violently in the ſouthern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the ſame time in the northern parts, muſt, when they meet, oppoſe each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this ſhock happens in the long and narrow paſſes of the mountains, it muſt occaſion a ſtrong current of air, that will extend itſelf in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow paſs of the mountain. Every ſolid body that meets this current of air, will be impreſſed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of ſurface it oppoſes to the current; ſo that if the poſition of that ſurface ſhould be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impoſſible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole maſs. Fortunately, the different bearings of the coaſt of theſe iſlands, and their angular or ſpherical figure, occaſion theſe dreadful hurricanes to fall upon ſurfaces more or leſs oblique, which divert the current of air, break it's force, and gradually deſtroy it's effects. Experience alſo proves, that their action is by degrees ſo much weakened, that even in the direction, where the hurricane falls with moſt force, it is ſcarce felt at ten leagues diſtance.

tance. The moſt accurate obſervers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have ſucceſſively ſubverted the iſlands, came from the north-weſt, and conſequently from the narrow paſſes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The diſtance of ſome iſlands from this direction, is not a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting this opinion; as ſeveral cauſes may contribute to divert a current of air to the ſouth or eaſt. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that thoſe perſons have been in an error, who have aſſerted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compaſs the wind came from. Such are the deſtructive phænomena Nature hath oppoſed to the acquiſition of the riches of the New World: but what barrier could reſtrain the daring ſpirit of the navigator who diſcovered it?

Cuſtoms of the Caribs, the antient inhabitants of the Windward Iſlands.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having firſt formed a ſettlement at St. Domingo, one of the Greater Antilles, diſcovered the Leſs. The iſlanders he had to encounter there, were not ſo weak and cowardly as thoſe he had at firſt ſubdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, were of moderate ſtature, thick ſet and ſtrong, and ſuch as ſeemed adapted to form men of ſuperior ſtrength, if their manner of life and exerciſes had ſeconded theſe natural appearances. Their legs thick and muſcular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and ſomewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleaſing, had they not ſpoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among themſelves. The eye-brows and the head were

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were the only parts of the body on which they suffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chastity. In order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a boiled lobster.

Their religion consisted only in some confused belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion so natural to man, that we find it diffused among the most savage nations, and preserved even among many civilized people. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greatest dread of the evil principle. Their other superstitions were more absurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace Christianity when it was proposed to them. Without entering into dispute with those who expounded the doctrines, they contented themselves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear*, as they said, *that their neighbours should laugh at them.*

Though the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owen to that innate principle of compassion which precedes all reflection, and is the source of all social virtues. This humane spirit of benevolence arises from the very frame and nature of man, whose self-love alone is sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of humanity

humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be neceſſary to make them the executioners of thoſe victims they ſacrifice to their pride, and of thoſe cruelties they order to be practiſed upon others. The hands of thoſe voluptuaries ſhould be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their ſeraglios; they ſhould be forced to attend the field of battle; they ſhould there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witneſſes of the agonies and convulſions of their dying ſoldiers; they ſhould next attend the hoſpitals, and at leiſure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diſeaſes occaſioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholeſome, by cruel ſervices and taxes, and by the other calamities which ariſe from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would ſcenes like theſe, occaſionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to leſſen the crimes and ſufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive, from the compaſſionate emotions of their ſovereigns?

Among the Caribs, whoſe hearts were not depraved by the pernicious inſtitutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treaſon, nor maſſacres, ſo common among civilized nations, were know'n. Religion, the laws, and penal puniſhments, thoſe barriers raiſed to protect old cuſtoms from the incroachments of new ones, were uſeleſs to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never hear'd of among theſe ſavages, before the Europeans came among them. When they diſcovered any thing miſſing,

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miſſing, they obſerved, *that the Chriſtians had been with them.*

THESE iſlanders were little acquainted with the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the ſoul, not even with that of love. This paſſion was with them merely a ſenſual appetite. They never ſhewed the leaſt marks of attention or tenderneſs for that ſex, ſo much courted in other countries. They conſidered their wives rather in the light of ſlaves than of companions; they did not even ſuffer them to eat with them, and had uſurped the right of divorcing them, without granting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themſelves born to obey, and ſubmitted patiently to their fate.

IN other reſpects, a taſte for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no diſtinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely ſurpriſed to find degrees of ſubordination eſtabliſhed among the Europeans. This ſyſtem was ſo repugnant to their ideas, that they conſidered thoſe as ſlaves, who had the weakneſs to receive the commands of a ſuperior, and obey them. The ſubjection of the women among them, was a natural conſequence of the weakneſs of the ſex. But in what manner, and for what reaſon, the ſtronger men ſubmitted themſelves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that neither war, treachery, nor ſuperſtition, had been able to reſolve.

THE manners of a people, neither influenced by intereſt, vanity, or ambition, muſt be very ſimple. Every

Every family formed within itſelf a republic, diſtinct in ſome degree from the reſt of the nation. They compoſed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or leſs conſequence, in proportion to the ſpace of ground it occupied. The chief, or patriarch of the family, lived in the center, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of ſuch of his deſcendants as were married. The columns that ſupported theſe huts were ſtakes; the roofs were thatched; and the whole furniture conſiſted of ſome weapons, cotton beds made very plain and ſimple, ſome baſkets, and utenſils made of calabaſhes.

In theſe huts the Caribs ſpent the greateſt part of their life, either in ſleeping or ſmoking. When they went out, they retired into ſome corner, and ſat upon the ground, ſeemingly abſorbed in the moſt profound contemplation. Whenever they ſpoke, which was not very often, they were hear'd without interruption, or contradiction, and without any anſwer, but the ſign of a tacit approbation.

They were not much troubled in providing for their ſuſtenance. Savages, who ſpent their life in the condenſed air of the foreſt, who had the cuſtom of covering themſelves with a layer of rocou, which cloſed up the pores of the ſkin; who ſpent their days in idleneſs and indolence; ſuch ſavages muſt neceſſarily perſpire very little, and be very moderate in their eating. Without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, they found conſtantly, at the foot of the trees, a wholeſome food, fitted to their conſtitution; and which

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which required no great preparation. If they ſometimes added to theſe gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fiſhing, it was moſtly upon occaſion of ſome public feaſt.

These extraordinary feſtivals were not holden at any ſtated times. The gueſts themſelves ſhewed no alteration in their uſual characters. In theſe meetings they were not more gay or ſprightly, than at other times. A ſpirit of indolence and liſtleſſneſs appeared in their countenances. Their dances were ſo grave and ſolemn, that the motions of their bodies were expreſſive of the dulneſs of their minds. But theſe gloomy feſtivals, like thoſe clouded ſkies that are the forerunners of a ſtorm, were ſeldom concluded without bloodſhed. Theſe ſavages, who were ſo temperate when alone, grew drunk when aſſembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived thoſe family diſſentions, that were either only ſtifled, or not entirely extinguiſhed: and thus theſe feſtivals terminated in maſſacres. Hatred and revenge, the only paſſions that could deeply agitate the minds of theſe ſavages, were thus perpetuated by convivial pleaſures. In the height of theſe entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and ſwore that they would wage war upon the continent, and, ſometimes, in the great iſlands.

The Caribs uſed to embark upon boats, made of a ſingle tree, that had been felled by burning it's roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing theſe canoes, by hatchets made of ſtone,

ſtone, or by means of fire, ſkilfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the moſt proper form. Theſe free and voluntary warriors being arrived on the coaſts, to which they were led, ſometimes by a blind caprice, and ſometimes by violent hatred, went in queſt of nations to exterminate. They made their attack with a kind of club, nearly as long as the arm, and with poiſoned arrows. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and ſpirited, the ſavages fell again into their former ſtate of indolence and inactivity.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding the advantage of fire-arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always ſucceſsful. At firſt they fought only for gold, and afterwards for ſlaves; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being ſo proud and ſullen that they died when reduced to ſlavery; the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conqueſts, which they thought of little conſequence, and which they could neither acquire nor preſerve without conſtant and bloody wars.

The Engliſh and French being apprized of theſe tranſactions, ventured to equip a ſmall fleet, in order to intercept the Spaniſh veſſels which frequented theſe latitudes. The advantages gained, increaſed the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent theſe expeditions. The cuſtom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of ſtopping all

The Engliſh and French ſettled in the Windward Iſlands, on the ruin of the Caribs.

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ſhips that ſailed beyond the tropic, juſtified ſuch piracies.

THE two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward Iſlands, without ever thinking of making any ſettlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehenſive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received: or, perhaps, they conſidered that a ſoil, which afforded none of thoſe productions that were of uſe in the Old World, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, ſome Engliſh and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Denambuc, landed at St. Chriſtopher's on the ſame day, at two oppoſite parts of the iſland. The frequent loſſes they ſuſtained, ſerved to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the common enemy, unleſs they had ſome fixed reſidence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conqueſt, they amicably divided the coaſts of the iſland where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the ſpot they were fixed upon, telling them at the ſame time, that *land muſt either be very bad or very ſcarce with them, ſince they were come from ſo great a diſtance, and had expoſed themſelves to ſo many dangers, to ſeek for it among them.*

THE court of Madrid were not ſo peaceably inclined. Frederic of Toledo, who was ſent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack

attack the Dutch, was ordered, in his paſſage, to deſtroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and induſtrious nations occaſioned the greateſt anxiety to the Spaniards. They were ſenſible that their colonies would be expoſed to attacks, if any other people ſhould come to ſettle in that part of America.

The French and Engliſh in vain united their weak powers againſt the common enemy: they were beaten, and thoſe who were not either killed in the action, or not taken priſoners, fled for ſhelter, with the utmoſt precipitation, into the neighbouring iſlands. When the danger was over, they moſt of them returned to their former ſettlements. Spain, whoſe attention was engroſſed by objects ſhe conſidered as of greater importance, diſturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealouſies would occaſion their deſtruction.

Unfortunately for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, ſuſpended their rivalſhip. The Caribs, already ſuſpected of forming a conſpiracy in St Chriſtopher's, were either baniſhed or deſtroyed. Their wives, their proviſions, and even the lands they occupied, were ſeized upon. A ſpirit of anxiety, the conſequence of uſurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe that the other ſavage nations had entered into the conſpiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their iſlands. In vain did thoſe plain and inoffenſive men, who had no inclination to contend for the poſſeſſion

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of a land which they conſidered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their incroachments; they were ſtill purſued with the ſame eagerneſs and obſtinacy. As ſoon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the ſpirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, muſt have ſometimes contributed to render them cruel, though not unjuſt.

In earlier times, the Engliſh and the French conſidered the Caribs as their common enemy; but this kind of caſual aſſociation was frequently interrupted. It implied not a laſting engagement, much leſs the becoming guarantee for their mutual poſſeſſions. The ſavages artfully contrived to be at peace, ſometimes with one nation, and ſometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This management would have been but of little ſervice to theſe iſlanders, had not Europe, ſcarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whoſe excurſions had as yet been of no uſe to her, and not ſufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them into a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference ſhew'n by the two mother-countries, determined their ſubjects of the New World, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, ſecuring to each people thoſe poſſeſſions the various events of war had procured them, and

and which, till then, had been totally unſettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offenſive and defenſive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan; to which their fears induced them to accede the very ſame year.

By this treaty, which eſtabliſhed tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and ſome leſs conſiderable acquiſitions. England was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and ſeveral other iſlands of little value: St. Chriſtopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's; where all the ſcattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6,000 men.

The French take poſſeſſion of part of St. Domingo

At this period, the Engliſh ſettlements had acquired, under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, ſome kind of form, and were in a flouriſhing ſtate. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to deſpair, from the neceſſity they were under of ſubmitting to the tyranny of excluſive privileges. Theſe men, paſſionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coaſt of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for ſeveral adventurers of their own country, ſince they had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's about thirty years before.

Character of theſe adventurers.

They were called Buccaneers, becauſe they imitated the cuſtom of the ſavages, in drying the food they lived upon by ſmoke, in places called Buccans. As they had no wives nor children, they

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they uſually aſſociated two in a company, to aſſiſt one another in family duties. In theſe ſocieties property was common, and the laſt ſurvivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknow'n among them, though no precautions were taken againſt it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from ſome of the neighbours, without any other reſtriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home; if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Cæſar found in Gaul the ſame cuſtom, which bears the double character, both of a primitive ſtate, in which every thing was in common, and of times poſterior to that, in which the idea of private property was know'n and reſpected. Differences ſeldom aroſe, and when they did, were eaſily adjuſted. If the parties, however, were obſtinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the ſides, it was conſidered as a mark of treachery, and the aſſaſſin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were diſregarded, and by the uſual ſea baptiſm they had received in paſſing the tropic, they conſidered themſelves exempted from all obligation to obey them. Theſe adventurers had even quitted their family name to aſſume others, borrowed from terms of war, moſt of which have been tranſmitted to their poſterity.

The dreſs of theſe barbarians conſiſted of a ſhirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the ſhirt, and made in the ſhape of a brewer's apron,

apron, a girdle made of leather, on which a very ſhort ſabre was hung, and ſome knives; a hat, without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and ſhoes, without ſtockings. Their ambition was ſatisfied, if they could but provide themſelves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five-and-twenty or thirty dogs.

The Buccaneers ſpent their life in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the iſland, ſince the Spaniards had brought them. The beſt parts of theſe animals, when ſeaſoned with pimento and orange juice, were the moſt common food of their deſtroyers, who had forgotten the uſe of bread, and who had nothing but water to drink. The hides of theſe animals were conveyed to ſeveral ports, and bought by the navigators. They were carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondſmen; a ſet of perſons, who were uſed to ſell themſelves in Europe to ſerve as ſlaves in the colonies, during the term of three years. One of theſe miſerable men, preſuming to repreſent to his maſter, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden ſuch a practice, when he had declared, *ſix days ſhalt thou labour, and on the ſeventh day ſhalt thou reſt*; And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, ſay to thee: *ſix days thou ſhalt kill bulls, and ſtrip them of their ſkins, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt carry their hides to the ſea-ſhore.* This command was followed by blows, which ſometimes enforce obedience, ſometimes diſobedience, to the laws of God.

MEN of ſuch a caſt, habituated to conſtant exerciſes, and feeding every day on freſh meat, were little expoſed to diſeaſes. Their excurſions were only ſuſpended by a ſlight fever, which laſted one day, and was not felt the next. They muſt, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intenſe a heat, to enable them to ſupport ſo hard and laborious a manner of life.

THE climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reaſon to fear. The Spaniſh colony, at firſt ſo conſiderable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother-country, it had even loſt the remembrance of it's former greatneſs. The few inhabitants that ſurvived, lived in a ſtate of indolence: their ſlaves had no other employment but to ſwing them in their hammocks. Confined to thoſe wants only that are ſatisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

IT is probable they would not have been rouzed from their indolence, had not the enterpriſing and active ſpirit of their enemies purſued them in proportion as they retreated. Exaſperated at length, from having their tranquillity and eaſe continually diſturbed, they invited from the continent, and from the neighbouring iſlands, ſome troops who fell upon the diſperſed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked theſe barbarians in ſmall parties in their excurſions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were maſſacred. Theſe adventurers would moſt probably have

have been all deſtroyed, had they not formed themſelves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an abſolute neceſſity of ſeparating in the day-time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was miſſing, it was ſuppoſed that he was either taken priſoner or killed, and the chace was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may eaſily conceive how much blood muſt have been ſhed by ſuch ruffians, belonging to no country, and ſubject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and inſtinct; and excited to murder and maſſacres from being habituated to attack, and from the neceſſity of defending themſelves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to deſtruction, without any diſtinction of ſex or age. The Spaniards, at length deſpairing of being able to get the better of ſuch ſavage and obſtinate enemies, took the reſolution of deſtroying all the bulls of the iſlands, by a general chace. The execution of this deſign having deprived the Buccaneers of their uſual reſources, put them under the neceſſity of making ſettlements, and cultivating the lands.

France, which till that time had diſclaimed for her ſubjects theſe ruffians, whoſe ſucceſſes were only temporary, acknowleged them, however, as ſoon as they formed themſelves into ſettlements. In 1665, ſhe ſent them over a man of probity and underſtanding to govern them. Several women attended him, who, like moſt of thoſe who have at different periods been ſent into the New World, were noted for their vices and licentiouſneſs. The

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Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners; each of them ſaid to the woman who fell to his lot:

"I take thee, without knowing, or caring to "know, whom thou art. If any body from "whence thou comeſt would have had thee, "thou wouldſt not have come in queſt of me; "but no matter. I do not deſire thee to give "me an account of thy paſt conduct, becauſe I "have no right to be offended at it, at the time "when thou waſt at liberty to behave either well "or ill, according to thy own pleaſure; and be-"cauſe I ſhall have no reaſon to be aſhamed of "any thing thou waſt guilty of when thou didſt "not belong to me. Give me only thy word for "the future. I acquit thee of what is paſt." Then ſtriking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added; "This will revenge me of thy breach "of faith; if thou ſhouldſt prove falſe, this will "certainly be true to my aim."

The Engliſh conquer Jamaica.

THE Engliſh had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm ſettlement in the Great Antilles to procure themſelves an eſtabliſhment there. The declining ſtate of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by it's internal diviſions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotions of Naples, by the deſtruction of it's formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by it's continual loſſes in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of it's miniſters, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itſelf on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtineſs: all theſe circumſtances, tending

tending to the ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be ſucceſsfully waged againſt her. France ſkilfully took the advantage of theſe confuſions ſhe had partly occaſioned; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to ſhare in the ſpoils of a kingdom haſtening to deſtruction in every part.

This conduct of the Protector cauſed a revolt among the beſt Engliſh officers, who, conſidering it as an inſtance of great injuſtice, determined to quit the ſervice. They thought that the will of their ſuperiors could not give ſanction to an enterpriſe, which violated all the principles of equity; and that by concurring in the execution of it, they would be guilty of the greateſt crime. The reſt of the Europeans looked upon theſe principles of virtue and honour, as the effect of that republican and fanatical ſpirit which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the Protector with other motives.

Spain had long threatened to enſlave all other nations. Perhaps the multitude, who are little able to eſtimate the ſtrength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An univerſal panic had ſeized the minds of thoſe able men who attentively ſtudied the general progreſs of affairs. They were ſenſible, that if the rapid and extraordinary ſucceſſes of France were not checked by ſome foreign power, ſhe would deprive the Spaniards of their poſſeſſions, impoſe on them what laws ſhe thought proper, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the XIV. ſecure

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to herſelf the inheritance of Charles the V. and oppreſs the liberty of Europe that ſhe had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately ſubverted the government of his country, ſeemed a fit perſon to give a check to the power of kings: but he was looked upon as the weakeſt of politicians, when he was obſerved to form connections, which his own private intereſts, thoſe of his country, as well as thoſe of Europe in general, ought abſolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

These obſervations could not poſſibly eſcape the deep and penetrating genius of the uſurper. But, perhaps, he was deſirous of preſerving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by ſome important conqueſt. If he had declared himſelf on the ſide of Spain, the execution of this project muſt have been chimerical; as the utmoſt he could poſſibly expect was to reſtore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his deſigns to begin to form a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himſelf maſter of thoſe poſſeſſions that were the object of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in theſe conjectures, which, however, may be ſupported from the evidence of hiſtory, and are, at leaſt, conſiſtent with the character of the extraordinary politician, who is ſuppoſed to have adopted this mode of reaſoning, the Engliſh went into the New World to attack an enemy they had juſt brought upon themſelves.

THEIR firſt attempts were directed againſt the town of St. Domingo, the inhabitants of which retired into the woods as ſoon as they ſaw a large fleet commanded by Penn, and nine thouſand land forces, headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors committed by their enemies, inſpiring theſe fugitives with freſh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reimbark with diſgrace. This misfortune was the conſequence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedition.

THE two commanders of this enterpriſe were men of very moderate abilities. They entertained a mutual hatred againſt each other, and were not attached to the Protector. Inſpectors had been appointed to watch over them, who, under the name of commiſſaries, checked their operations. The ſoldiers who were ſent from Europe were the refuſe of the army; and the militia, taken from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's, were under no kind of diſcipline. The hope of plunder, that ſtimulus ſo neceſſary for the ſucceſs of diſtant and difficult enterprizes, was prohibited. Matters were arranged in ſuch a manner, as to render it impoſſible for any kind of harmony to ſubſiſt between the ſeveral perſons who were to concur in their ſucceſs. Proper arms, proviſions fit for the climate, and the information neceſſary to conduct the enterpriſe, were all wanting.

THE execution of the attack was anſwerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger even in the port itſelf,

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itſelf, was accompliſhed without a guide, at forty miles diſtance. The troops wandered about for four days without water or proviſions. Exhauſted by the exceſſive heat of the climate, and diſcouraged by the cowardice and miſunderſtanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They ſcarce thought themſelves in ſafety when they had got back to their ſhips.

But ill ſucceſs contributed to reconcile the irritated parties. The Engliſh, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing diſgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and reſtored to the love of their country, to a ſenſe of their duty, and to a thirſt of glory, ſailed for Jamaica, with a determined reſolution, either to periſh, or to make the conqueſt of it.

The inhabitants of this iſland, ſubject to Spain ſince the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy ſailing in the neighbouring ſeas. The Engliſh therefore landed without oppoſition. They were boldly marching to lay ſiege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to their ardour, by offering them terms of capitulation. The diſcuſſion of the articles, artfully prolonged, gave the coloniſts time to remove their moſt valuable effects into ſecret places. They themſelves fled for ſhelter to inacceſſible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors a city without inhabitants, moveables, treaſures, or proviſions.

This

This artifice exaſperated the beſiegers. They ſent out detachments on every ſide, with expreſs orders to deſtroy every thing they met with. The diſappointment they felt on finding theſe parties return without having diſcovered any thing; the want of every convenience, more ſenſibly felt by this nation than any other; the mortality which increaſed among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the New World: all theſe circumſtances conſpired to make them clamorous for a ſpeedy return into England. The cowardly deſertion of ſo rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almoſt reſolved upon, would ſoon have expoſed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not diſcovered at laſt ſome paſture land, where the fugitives had conveyed their numerous flocks. This unexpected good fortune occaſioned a change in the ſentiments of the Engliſh, and made them reſolve to complete their conqueſt.

The ſpirit of activity, which this laſt reſolution had excited, convinced the beſieged, that they could not remain with ſafety in the foreſts and precipices where they had concealed themſelves. They unanimouſly, therefore, agreed to ſet ſail for Cuba. Here they were received with ſuch marks of diſgrace as the weakneſs of their defence deſerved, and they were ſent back again; but with ſuch ſuccours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in moſt men ariſes rather from a fear of ſhame than a love of glory, they made a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected

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from the few resources they had. They did not evacuate this considerable island, till they were reduced to the greatest extremities; and from that period it hath remained one of the most valuable possessions of Great Britain in the New World.

The freebooters ravage the American seas. Origin, manners, expeditions and decline of these pirates.

Before the English had made any settlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, some pirates of both nations, who have since been so much distinguished by the name of Freebooters, had driven the Spaniards out of the small island of Tortuga, situated at the distance of two leagues from St. Domingo; and fortifying themselves there, had made excursions with amazing intrepidity against the common enemy. They formed themselves into small companies, consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or smaller size, was all their naval force. These boats were scarce big enough for a person to lie down in, and they had nothing to shelter them from the ardent heats of a burning climate, nor from the rains, which fall in torrents in those regions. They were often in want of the most necessary supports of life. But all these calamities were forgotten at the sight of a ship. They never deliberated on the attack, but proceeded immediately to board the ship, of whatever size it might be. As soon as they threw out the grappling, the vessel was certainly taken.

In cases of extreme necessity, these banditti attacked the people of every nation; but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exercised on the Americans, justified the implacable aversion they had sworn

ſwor'n againſt them. But this extraordinary kind of humanity was heightened by perſonal reſentment, from the mortification they felt, in ſeeing themſelves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fiſhing, which they juſtly conſidered as natural rights. Such was their infatuation, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they uſed to pray to Heaven for the ſucceſs of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they conſtantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

The ſhips that arrived from Europe ſeldom tempted their avidity. Theſe barbarians would have found nothing but merchandiſe in them, the ſale of which would not have been very profitable, and would have required too conſtant an attention. They always waited for them on their return, when they were laden with the gold, ſilver, and jewels of the other hemiſphere. If they met with a ſingle ſhip, they never failed to attack her. They followed the fleets themſelves, and any ſhip that ſtraggled, or remained behind, was inevitably loſt. The Spaniards, who trembled at the ſight of theſe implacable enemies, immediately ſurrendered. Life was granted to them, if the cargo proved a rich one; but if the conquerors were diſappointed in their expectations, all the crew were frequently throw'n into the ſea.

Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men in his boat; yet with this trifling force he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the gal-

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leons. He boarded him, having firſt given orders to ſink his own veſſel; and the Spaniards were ſo much ſurpriſed at this boldneſs, that not one of them attempted to oppoſe him. When he came to the captain's cabbin, who was engaged at play, he preſented a piſtol to him, and compelled him to ſurrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the neareſt cape, as a uſeleſs burden to the ſhip they had ſo ill defended, and reſerved only a ſufficient number of ſailors to work her.

Fifty-five free-booters, who had ſailed into the ſouthern ſea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern ſea, they were obliged to ſail two thouſand leagues againſt the wind in a canoe. When they were at the Streights of Magellan, they were ſeized with rage at having made no plunder in ſo rich an ocean, and ſteered again towards Peru. They were informed that there was in the port of Yauca, a ſhip the cargo of which was valued at ſeveral millions: they immediately attacked, took her, and embarked upon her.

Michael de Basco, Jonqué, and Lawrence le Graff, were cruiſing before Carthagena with three ſmall and bad veſſels, when two men of war ſailed out of the harbour to attack theſe free-booters, and to bring them alive or dead. The Spaniards were ſo much deceived in their expections, that they were themſelves taken priſoners. The victors kept the ſhips; but they ſent back the crews with a degree of ſcorn, which

2 greatly

greatly enhanced the ſhame of a defeat in itſelf ſo humiliating.

MICHAEL and Brouage having received intelligence, that a very valuable cargo had been ſhipped from Carthagena in veſſels carrying a foreign flag, in order to ſecure it from their rapine, attacked the two ſhips that were loaded with this treaſure, and plundered them. The Dutch captains, exaſperated at their being beaten by ſhips ſo inferior to their's, ventured to tell one of theſe adventurers openly, that if he had been alone, he would not dare to attack them. *Let us begin the fight again,* replied the Buccaneer with haughtineſs, *and my companion ſhall remain a quiet ſpectator of the engagement. If I ſhould be conqueror again, both your ſhips ſhall alſo be mine.* The prudent republicans, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, apprehending if they ſhould ſtop, that they might not have the liberty of declining it.

LAWRENCE, who was on board a very ſmall veſſel, was overtaken by two Spaniſh ſhips, carrying each ſixty guns. *You have,* ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his companions, *too much experience not to be ſenſible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occaſion we muſt avail ourſelves of every circumſtance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourſelves at the ſame time. Valour, artifice, raſhneſs, and even deſpair itſelf, muſt now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight, that we may eſcape them.*

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After this ſpeech, which was received with general applauſe, the captain called to the braveſt of the free-booters, and publicly ordered him to ſet fire to the gun-powder, on the firſt ſignal he ſhould give him; ſhewing, by this reſolution, that they muſt either expect death, or defend themſelves. Then extending his hand toward the enemy, *We muſt*, ſays he, *paſs between their ſhips, and fire upon them from every ſide, according to your uſual cuſtom.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and diſpatch. The ſhips indeed were not taken; but the crews were ſo reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough to continue the combat againſt a handful of reſolute men, who, even in their retreat, carried away the honour of the victory. The Spaniſh commander atoned, by his death, for the diſgrace his ignorance and cowardice had ſtamped upon his country. In every engagement the free-booters ſhewed the ſame ſpirit of intrepidity.

When they had got a conſiderable booty, at firſt they held their rendezvous at the iſland of Tortuga, in order to divide the ſpoil; but afterwards the French went to St. Domingo, and the Engliſh to Jamaica. They all took an oath, that they had ſecreted none of the ſpoil. If any one among them was convicted of perjury, which ſeldom happened, he was left, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, upon ſome deſert iſland, as an infamous perſon. The firſt ſhares of the booty were always given to thoſe who had been maimed in

in any of their engagements. If they had loſt a hand, an arm, or a leg, they received two hundred crowns *. An eye, or a finger, loſt in fight, was valued only at half the above ſum. The wounded were allowed three livres † a day for two months, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to fulfil theſe ſacred obligations, the whole company were bound to engage in ſome freſh expedition, and to continue it, even till they had acquired a ſufficient ſtock to enable them to ſatisfy ſuch honourable contracts.

After this act of juſtice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided. The commander, in ſtrictneſs, could only lay claim to a ſingle ſhare as the reſt; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as they were ſatisfied with his ſkill, valour, and conduct. When the veſſel was not the property of the company, the perſon who had fitted it out, and furniſhed it with neceſſary arms and proviſions, was entitled to a third of the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the diviſion of the booty; for every ſhare was rigidly determined by lot. This probity was extended even to the dead. Their ſhare was given to their ſurviving companion. If the perſon who had been killed had none, his part was ſent to his family. If there were no friends or relations, it was diſtributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the perſon in whoſe name theſe

* 25 l. † 2 s. 6 d.

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benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but neceſſary piratical plunder.

They afterwards indulged themſelves in profuſions of all kinds. Unbounded licentiouſneſs in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmoſt pitch of exceſs, and was ſtopt only by the want which ſuch profuſions brought on. Thoſe men who were enriched with ſeveral millions, were in an inſtant totally ruined, and deſtitute of clothes and proviſions. They returned to ſea, and the new ſupplies they acquired were ſoon laviſhed in the ſame manner. If theſe madmen were aſked, what ſatisfaction they could find in diſſipating ſo rapidly, what they had gained with ſo much difficulty; they made this very ingenuous reply: "Expoſed as we are to ſuch a variety of dan-"gers, our life is totally different from that of "other men. Why ſhould we, who are alive "to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of "hoarding up? We reckon only the day we live, "but never think upon that which is to come. "Our concern is rather to ſquander life away, "than to preſerve it."

The Spaniſh colonies, flattering themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing an end to their miſeries, and reduced almoſt to deſpair in finding themſelves a perpetual prey to theſe ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences and fortune their connections procured them, and formed themſelves almoſt into ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtates. They were ſenſible of the inconveniences ariſing from

from ſuch a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and ſavage men, had greater influence over them, than the dictates of honour, intereſt, and policy. This was the riſe of that ſpirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

THIS deſpondency ſerved only to increaſe the boldneſs of the free-booters. As yet they had only appeared in the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to carry off ſome proviſions; and even this they had done very ſeldom. They no ſooner found their captures begin to diminiſh, than they determined to recover by land, what they had loſt at ſea. The richeſt and moſt populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waſte. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than ſail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

AMONG the free-booters, who ſignalized themſelves in this new ſpecies of excurſions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial account of the cruelties practiſed in the New World, he conceived an averſion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy againſt that nation that had committed ſuch enormities. Upon this point a ſtory is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the perſon who perſonated the Spaniard with ſuch fury, that he would have ſtrangled him, had he not been

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reſcued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually repreſented to him innumerable multitudes of people maſſacred by ſavage monſters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irreſiſtible ardour to avenge ſo much innocent blood. The enthuſiaſm this ſpirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel, than the thirſt of gold, or the fanaticiſm of religion, to which ſo many victims had been ſacrificed. The manes of theſe unhappy ſufferers ſeemed to rouze him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had hear'd ſome account of the *brethren of the coaſt*, as of the moſt inveterate enemies to the Spaniſh name: he therefore embarked on board a ſhip in order to join them.

In the paſſage they met with a Spaniſh veſſel, attacked it, and, as it was uſual in thoſe times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a ſabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ſhip to the other, levelled every thing that oppoſed him. When he had compelled the enemy to ſurrender, leaving to his companions the happineſs of dividing ſo rich a booty, he contented himſelf with the ſavage pleaſure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards lying in heaps together, againſt whom he had ſwor'n a conſtant and deadly hatred.

Freſh opportunities ſoon occurred, that enabled him to exert this ſpirit of revenge, without extinguiſhing it. The ſhip he was upon arrived at the coaſt of St. Domingo. The French who were ſettled in the iſland, brought him only a

ſmall quantity of refreſhment, and alleged in excuſe, that the Spaniards had laid waſte their ſettlements. "Why," replied Montbar, "do "you ſuffer ſuch inſults?" "Neither do we," anſwered they in the ſame tone; "the Spaniards "have experienced what kind of men we are, and "have therefore taken advantage of the time "when we were engaged in hunting. But we "are going to join ſome of our companions, who "have been ſtill more ill-treated than we, and "then we ſhall have warm work." "If you "approve it," anſwered Montbar," "I will "head you, not as your commander, but as the "foremoſt to expoſe myſelf to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was ſuch a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The ſame day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuoſity that aſtoniſhed the braveſt. Nothing eſcaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally diſtinguiſhed as this day. The Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from him, both by land and at ſea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His ſavage diſpoſition, as well as that of the other Buccaneers who attended him, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themſelves within their ſettlements, theſe free-booters reſolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war required ſuperior forces; and their aſſociations, in conſequence, became more numerous. The firſt that was conſiderable, was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the

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the ſands of Olone, the place of his birth. From the abject ſtate of a bondſman, he had gradually raiſed himſelf to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With theſe he was ſo ſucceſsful, as to take a Spaniſh frigate on the coaſt of Cuba. A ſlave having obſerved that all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing leſt he ſhould ſhare the ſame fate, wanted to ſave himſelf by a perfidious declaration, but very conſiſtent with the part he had been deſtined to take. He aſſured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on board, in order to ſerve as executioner to all the Buccaneers he had ſentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the leaſt but they would be all taken priſoners. The ſavage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, ſucking, at each ſtroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his ſabre. He then repaired to the Port-au-Prince, in which were four ſhips, fitted out purpoſely to ſail in purſuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crews into the ſea, except one man, whom he ſaved, in order to ſend him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and aſſuring him, that he would treat in the ſame manner all the Spaniards that ſhould fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himſelf, if he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize-ſhips a-ground, and ſailed with his frigate only to the iſland of Tortuga.

HERE

HERE he met with Michael de Baſco, who had ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf in having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spaniſh ſhip, eſtimated at five or ſix millions of livres *; and by other actions equally brave and daring. Theſe two adventurers gave out, that they were going together upon ſome important project, and they were joined by four hundred and forty men. This corps, the moſt numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muſter, ſailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the ſpace of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for it's defence was taken; the cannon ſpiked, and the whole garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty men, put to the ſword. They then reimbarked, and came to Maracaybo, built on the weſtern coaſt of the lake of the ſame name, at the diſtance of ten leagues from it's mouth. This city, which had become flouriſhing and rich by it's trade in ſkins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deſerted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other ſide of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not loſt a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had ſecreted, to ſecure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the uſeleſs ſatisfaction of making themſelves maſters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had

* From 208,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. to 250,000 l.

already

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already removed at a diſtance the moſt valuable part of their property. Exaſperated at this diſappointment, they ſet fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have ſhared the ſame fate, had it not been ranſomed. Beſide the ſum they received for it's ranſom, they alſo carried off with them all the croſſes, pictures, and bells of the churches; intending, as they ſaid, to build a chapel in the iſland of Tortuga, and to conſecrate this part of their ſpoils to ſacred purpoſes. Such was the religion of theſe barbarous people, who could make no other offering to heaven, than that which aroſe from their robberies and plunder.

While they were idly diſſipating the ſpoils they had made on the coaſt of Venezuela, Morgan, the moſt renowned of the Engliſh free-booters, ſailed from Jamiaca to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operations was ſo well contrived, that he ſurpriſed the city, and took it without oppoſition. In order to ſecure the fort with the ſame facility, he compelled the women and the prieſts to fix the ſcaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction, that the gallantry and ſuperſtition of the Spaniards would never ſuffer them to fire at the perſons they conſidered as the objects of their love and reverence. But the garriſon was not to be deceived by this artifice, and was only to be ſubdued by force of arms; the treaſures that were carried away from this famous port were acquired at the expence of much bloodſhed.

The conqueſt of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To ſecure this, Morgan thought it neceſſary to ſail in the latitudes of Coſta-

Coſta-Ricca, to procure ſome guides in the iſland of St. Catharine, to which the Spaniards tranſported their malefactors. This place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it ought to have ſtopped the progreſs of the moſt intrepid commander for ten years. Notwithſtanding this, the governor, on the firſt appearance of the pirates, ſent privately to concert meaſures how he might ſurrender himſelf without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The reſult of this conſultation was, that Morgan, in the night-time, ſhould attack a fort at ſome diſtance, and that the governor ſhould ſally out of the citadel to defend this important poſt; that the beſiegers ſhould then attack him in the rear, and take him priſoner, which would conſequently occaſion a ſurrender of the place. It was agreed that a briſk firing ſhould be kept up on both ſides, without doing miſchief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being expoſed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the freebooters, after having totally demoliſhed the fortifications, and put on board their veſſels a prodigious quantity of warlike ſtores, which they found at St. Catharine's, ſteered their courſe towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmoſt wiſhes.

At the entrance of this conſiderable river, a fort was built upon a ſteep rock, which the waves of the ſea conſtantly beat againſt. This bulwark, very difficult of acceſs, was defended by an officer, whoſe extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage,

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courage, and by a garriſon that deſerved ſuch a commander. The free-booters, for the firſt time, here met with a reſiſtance that could only be equalled by their perſeverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would ſucceed, or be obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the beſiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themſelves maſters of the place.

MORGAN left his veſſels at anchor, with a ſufficient number of men to guard them, and ſailed up the river in his boats for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceaſes to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, which was only five leagues diſtant. Upon a large and extenſive plain that was before the city, he met with a conſiderable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greateſt eaſe, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

HERE were found prodigious treaſures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring foreſts were alſo found ſeveral rich depoſits. But the party of free-booters who were making excurſions into the country, little ſatisfied with this booty, exerciſed the moſt ſhocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they diſcovered, to oblige them to confeſs where they had ſecreted their own as well as their maſters riches. A beggar, accidentally going into a caſtle that had been deſerted

deſerted through fear, found ſome apparel that he put on. He had ſcarcely dreſſed himſelf in this manner, when he was perceived by theſe pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man ſhewed them the ragged cloaths he had juſt throw'n off. He was inſtantly tortured; but as he made no diſcovery, he was given up to ſome ſlaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treaſure the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by maſſacres and tortures, were reſtored again in the ſame manner.

In the midſt of ſuch ſcenes of horror, the ſavage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inſpire the object of his attachment with favourable ſentiments towards him. He was reſolved therefore to ſubdue by force the beautiful Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried ſhe to this ſavage, as ſhe ſprung with eagerneſs from his arms, *Stop: Thinkeſt thou then that thou can'ſt raviſh my honour from me, as thou haſt wreſted from me my fortune and my liberty? Be aſſured that I can die, and be revenged.* Having ſaid this, ſhe drew out a poigniard from under her gown, which ſhe would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

But Morgan, ſtill inflamed with a paſſion which this determined reſiſtance had turned into rage, inſtead of the tenderneſs and attention he had made uſe of to prevail upon his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greateſt inhumanity. The fair Spaniard, immoveably reſolute, ſtimulated, at the ſame time that ſhe reſiſted the frantic deſires of Morgan; till at laſt the pirates, expreſſing

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ſing their reſentment at being kept ſo long in a ſtate of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the neceſſity of liſtening to their complaints, and giving up his purſuit. Panama was burnt. They then ſet ſail with a great number of priſoners, who were ranſomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the diviſion of the ſpoil, Morgan, while the reſt of the pirates were in a deep ſleep, with the principal free-booters of his own country, ſailed for Jamaica, in a veſſel which he had laden with the rich ſpoils of a city, that ſerved as the ſtaple of commerce between the old and the New World. This inſtance of treachery, unhear'd-of before, excited a rage and reſentment not to be deſcribed. The Engliſh purſued the robber, in hopes of wreſting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been fruſtrated. The French, though ſharers in the ſame loſs, retired to the iſland of Tortuga, from whence they made ſeveral expeditions. But they were all trifling, till, in the year 1683, they attempted one of the greateſt importance.

The plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Oſtend, though he had ſerved all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him ſuffer the leaſt ſigns of cowardice among thoſe who were aſſociated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ſhip, ſucceſſively obſerved his men, and immediately killed thoſe who ſhrank at the ſudden report of a piſtol,

piſtol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary diſcipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other reſpects, he readily ſhared with the men of ſpirit and bravery the immenſe riches that were acquired by ſo truly warlike a diſpoſition. When he went upon theſe expeditions, he generally ſailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But theſe new deſigns requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his aſſiſtance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, diſtinguiſhed by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had ſignalized himſelf ſtill more than they. Twelve hundred free-booters joined themſelves to theſe famous commanders, and ſailed in ſix veſſels for Vera Cruz.

The darkneſs of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being diſcovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the poſts of the greateſt conſequence; every thing, in a word, that could occaſion any reſiſtance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were ſhut up in the churches, where they had fled for ſhelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A free-booter, with a lighted match, was to ſet fire to it upon the leaſt appearance of an inſurrection.

While the city was kept in ſuch terror, it was eaſily pillaged; and after the free-booters had carried off what was moſt valuable, they made a propoſal to the citizens who were kept priſoners in

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the churches, to ranſom their lives and liberties, by a contribution of ten millions of livres*. Theſe unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drunk for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the ſame day: the other part was expected from the inland parts of the country; when there appeared, on an eminence, a conſiderable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips from Europe. At the ſight of this armament the free-booters, without any marks of ſurpriſe, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred ſlaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the reſt of the money they expected, the ſettling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. Theſe ruffians ſincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms upon the coaſts where they made a deſcent, was their lawful property; and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of theſe contributions they compelled the inhabitants to ſign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the intereſt of that part of the ſum that was not yet paid.

THEIR retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly ſailed through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, which let them paſs without firing a ſingle gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have eſcaped ſo eaſily, and with no other

* 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

inconvenience,

inconvenience, but ſuch as aroſe from their fears, if the veſſels of the pirates had not been laden with riches, or if the Spaniſh fleet had been freighted with any other effects but ſuch merchandiſe as were little valued by theſe pirates.

A YEAR had ſcarce elapſed ſince their return from Mexico, when on a ſudden they were all ſeized with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. They expected, undoubtedly, to find greater treaſures upon a ſea little frequented, than upon one ſo long expoſed to plunder. The French and Engliſh, and even the pirate aſſociations of theſe two nations, projected this plan at the ſame time, without having concerted it together. Four thouſand men directed their courſe to this part of the New Hemiſphere. Some of them came by the continent, and others by the Streights of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wiſhes. If the intrepidity of theſe barbarians had been directed, by a ſkilful and reſpectable commander, to one ſingle uniform end, this important colony would have been loſt to Spain. But their natural character was an invincible obſtacle to ſo rare an union; for they always formed themſelves into ſeveral diſtinct bodies, ſometimes into ſo few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or ſeparately, as the moſt trifling caprice directed. Grognier, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers among the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Townley, among the Engliſh.

SUCH of thoſe adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the Streights of Darien, ſeized upon

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the firſt veſſels they found upon the coaſt. Their aſſociates, who had ſailed in their own veſſels, were not much better provided. Weak however as they were, they beat, ſunk, or took, all the ſhips that were fitted out againſt them. The Spaniards then ſuſpended their navigations. The free-booters were continually obliged to make deſcents upon the coaſts to get proviſions; or to go by land in order to plunder thoſe cities where the booty was ſecured. They ſucceſſively attacked Seppo, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon, Reulejo, Pueblo-Viejo, Chiriquita, Eſparſo, Granada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoantepec, Mucmeluna, Chuluteca, New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the moſt conſiderable of all theſe places.

As Grognier was returning home from one of thoſe rapid expeditions, he found that a defile through which he was to paſs, was occupied by ſome battalions that were intrenched, who offered not to impede his retreat, provided he would conſent to releaſe the priſoners he had taken. *If*, ſaid he, *you would have my priſoners, you muſt cut their irons aſunder with your ſabres; with reſpect to my paſſage, my ſword ſecures that to me.* This anſwer gained him a victory, and he purſued his march unmoleſted.

Universal terror prevailed throughout the empire; the approach of the free-booters, and even the fear of their arrival diſperſed the people. The Spaniards, grown effeminate by the moſt extravagant luxury, enervated by the peaceful exerciſe of their tyranny, and reduced to the ſtate of their ſlaves, never waited for the enemy, unleſs they were

were at leaſt twenty to one; and even then they were beaten. They retained no impreſſion of the pride and nobility of their origin. They were ſo much degenerated, that they had loſt all ideas of the art of war, and were even ſcarce acquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. They were but little better than the Americans, whom they trampled upon. This extraordinary want of courage was increaſed, from the idea they had conceived of the ferocious men who attacked them. Their monks had draw'n them with the ſame hideous features, with which they repreſented devils; and they themſelves had overcharged the picture. Such a repreſentation, the offspring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind averſion and terror.

NOTWITHSTANDING the exceſs of their reſentment, the Spaniards only recked their revenge upon their foes, when they were no more able to inſpire terror. As ſoon as the Buccaneers had quitted the place they had plundered, and if any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was digged up again, mutilated, or made to paſs through the various kinds of torture, that would have been practiſed upon the man, had he been alive. This abhorrence of the free-booters was extended even to the places on which they had exerciſed their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and ſoil of the places which had been laid waſte were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

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This rage, equally impotent and childiſh, could only contribute to embolden that of their enemies. As ſoon as they took a town, it was directly ſet on fire, unleſs a ſum, proportioned to it's value, was given to ſave it. The priſoners taken in battle were maſſacred without mercy, if they were not ranſomed by government, or by individuals: gold, pearls, or precious ſtones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ranſom. Silver being too common, and too weighty in proportion to it's value, would have been troubleſome to them. In a word, the chances of fortune, that ſeldom leave guilt unpuniſhed, nor adverſity without a compenſation for it's ſufferings, atoned for the crimes committed in the conqueſt of the New World, and the Indians were amply avenged of the Spaniards.

But it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that thoſe who committed ſuch outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the courſe of theſe piracies, from the effects of the climate, from diſtreſs or debauchery. Some were ſhipwrecked in paſſing the Streights of Magellan, and at Cape Horn. Moſt of thoſe who attempted to get to the Northern Sea by land, fell into the ambuſcade that was laid for them, and loſt either their lives, or the booty they had acquired. The Engliſh and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that laſted four years, and found themſelves deprived of their braveſt inhabitants.

While ſuch piracies were committed on the Southern Ocean, the Northern was threatened with

with the ſame by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a military capacity in Europe; but his paſſion for wine, gaming, and women, had induced him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were ſufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent: he was endued with a ſound judgment, and was a perſon of approved valour, which ſoon made him be conſidered as the chief of the French free-booters. As ſoon as it was know'n that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of brave men. The governor of St. Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his maſter to approve of the project, equally wiſe and juſt, of fixing the pirates to ſome place, and inducing them to become cultivators, was deſirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbad it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater ſhare of ſenſe than his aſſociates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and ſternly replied: *How can Lewis diſapprove of a deſign he is unacquainted with, and which hath been planned only a few days ago?* This anſwer highly pleaſed all the free-booters, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

They landed without oppoſition. But at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were beaten and purſued to the town, where both parties entered at the ſame time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled againſt the citadel. As it

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it had very little effect, they were contriving ſome ſtratagem to enable them to become maſters of the place, when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Engliſhman, and an officer of ſuch ſignal courage, that he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities, than baſely to fly from the place with the reſt. The commander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of diſtinction, generouſly releaſed him, gave him up all his effects, and beſides complimented him with ſome valuable preſents: ſuch influence have courage and fidelity, even on the minds of thoſe who ſeem to violate all the rights of ſociety.

The conquerors of Campeachy ſpent two months in ſearching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitannts, in their flight, thought they had preſerved. When all the treaſure they had collected from every quarter was depoſited in the ſhips, a propoſal was made to the governor of the province, who ſtill kept the field with nine hundred men, to ranſom his capital city. His refuſal determined them to burn it, and demoliſh the citadel. The French, on the feſtival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniverſary of their king; and, in the tranſports of their patriotiſm, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million * of logwood; a part, and a very conſiderable one too, of the ſpoil they had made. After

* 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

this

this ſingular and extravagant inſtance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boaſt, they returned to St. Domingo.

THE little advantage which the Engliſh and French free-booters had made by their laſt expeditions upon the continent, had inſenſibly led them to have recourſe to their uſual pyratical expeditions upon the ſea. Both were employed in attacking the ſhips they met with; when a particular train of circumſtances again engaged the French in that courſe, which every thing had rendered them diſſatisfied with.

A FEW enterpriſing men had fitted out in 1697, in the ports of France, and under the ſanction of government, ſeven ſhips of the line, and a proportionate number of inferior veſſels. This fleet, commanded by Commodore Pointis, conveyed troops for landing; and it's deſtination was againſt Carthagena, one of the richeſt and beſt fortified towns of the New World. It was expected that this expedition would be attended with great difficulties, but it was hoped that they would be ſurmounted, if the Buccaneers would aſſiſt in it, which they did engage to do, from motives of complaiſance to Ducaſſe, governor of St. Domingo, who was, and deſerved to be, their idol.

THESE men, whoſe boldneſs could not be reſtrained, did ſtill more than was expected from them. No ſooner had they perceived a ſmall breach in the fortifications of the lower town, than they ſtormed the place, and planted their ſtandards

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ſtandards upon the walls. They carried the other works with the ſame intrepidity. The town ſurrendered, and it's ſubmiſſion was owen to the Buccaneers.

All kinds of enormities ſucceeded this event. The general, who was an unjuſt, covetous, and cruel man, broke every article of the capitulation. Although the apprehenſions of an army, that was collecting in the inland country, had made him conſent that the inhabitants ſhould keep half of their moveable effects, yet every thing was given up to the moſt horrible plunder. The officers were the firſt thieves; and it was not till they had gorged themſelves with the ſpoils, that the ſoldiers were ſuffered to ranſack the houſes. As for the Buccanners, they were kept in employment out of the town, while the treaſure was ſeized.

Pointis pretended that the ſpoils did not exceed ſeven or eight millions of livres *. Ducaſſe valued them at 30,000,000 †, and others at 40,000,000 ‡, The Buccaneers, according to agreement, were to receive one quarter of the whole, whatever it might be. They were however given to underſtand, that their profit would only amount to 40,000 crowns ‖.

The ſhips had ſet ſail when the propoſal was made to theſe intrepid men, who had decided the victory. Exaſperated at this treatment, which ſo evidently affected their rights, and diſappointed

* From 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
† 1,250,000 l. ‡ 1,666,666 l. 10 s. 4 d.
‖ 5000 l.

their

their expectations, they resolved immediately to board the vessel called *the Scepter*, where Pointis himself was, and which, at that time, was too far distant from the rest of the ships, to expect to be assisted by them. This infamous commander was upon the point of being massacred, when one of the mal-contents cried out: *Brethren, why should we attack this rascal? He hath carried off nothing that belongs to us. He hath left our share at Carthagena, and there we must go to recover it.* This proposal was received with general applause. A savage joy at once succeeded that gloomy melancholy which had seized them, and without further deliberation all their ships sailed towards the city.

As soon as they had entered the city without meeting with any resistance, the Buccaneers shut up all the men in the great church, and spoke to them in the following words:

"We are not ignorant that you consider us "as men void of faith, and of all religion, as "infernal beings rather than men. The abhor- "rence you have of us, hath been manifested by "the opprobrious terms with which you affect to "describe us; and your mistrust of us, by your "refusing to treat with us of your capitulation. "You see us here armed, and capable of avenging "ourselves. The paleness visible upon your "countenances plainly shews that you expect the "most severe treatment; and your conscience "tells you, no doubt, that you deserve it. Be "at length undeceived, and acknowlege, in "this instance, that the injurious appellations

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" with which you ſtigmatize us, are not to be " applied to us, but to the infamous general un- " der whoſe command we lately fought. The " traitor to whom we have opened the gates of the " city, which he would never have entered with- " out our aſſiſtance, hath ſeized upon the ſpoils " acquired at our hazard, and by our courage; " and by this act of injuſtice hath compelled us " to return to you. Our moderation muſt juſ- " tify our ſincerity. We will quit your city im- " mediately, upon your delivering 5,000,000 of " livres * into our hands. This is the whole of " our claim; and we pledge our honour to you, " that we will inſtantly retreat. But if you re- " fuſe us ſo moderate a contribution, look at our " ſabres: we ſwear by them that we will ſpare " no perſon; and when the misfortunes which " threaten you ſhall come upon you, and upon " your wives and children, accuſe none but your- " ſelves and the worthleſs Pointis, whom you are " at liberty to load with all kinds of execra- " tions."

After this diſcourſe, a ſacred orator mounted the pulpit, and made uſe of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to perſuade his hearers to yield up, without reſerve, all the gold, ſilver, and jewels they had. The collection made after the ſermon not furniſhing the ſum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houſes they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but

* 208,333 l. 6s. 8d.

with

with no great ſucceſs; and the inſtruments of torture were at length produced.

Two of the citizens of the greateſt diſtinction were ſeized, and after them two more, in order to endeavour to extort from them, where the public money, as well as that of individuals, was concealed. They all anſwered, ſeparately, with ſo much candour, as well as firmneſs, that they were ignorant of it, that avarice itſelf was diſarmed. Some muſkets were, however, fired off, to induce a belief that theſe unfortunate men had been ſhot. Every one apprehended the ſame fate; and that very evening, one million of livres * was brought in to the free-booters. The following days produced alſo ſomething more. Deſpairing, at length, to add any thing to what they had already amaſſed, they ſet ſail. Unfortunately they fell in with a fleet of Dutch and Engliſh ſhips, both thoſe nations being then in alliance with Spain, and ſeveral of their ſmall veſſels were either taken or ſunk; the reſt eſcaped to St. Domingo.

Such was the laſt memorable event in the hiſtory of the free-booters.

The ſeparation of the Engliſh and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations: the ſucceſsful means they both made uſe of to promote the cultivation of land in their colonies, by the aſſiſtance of theſe enterprizing men, the prudence that was ſhew'n, in fixing the moſt diſtinguiſhed among

* 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

them,

them, and intruſting them with civil and military employments: the protection they were under a neceſſity of affording ſucceſſively to the Spaniſh ſettlements, which, till then, had been a general object of plunder: all theſe circumſtances, and various others, beſide the impoſſibility there was of ſupplying the place of ſo many extraordinary men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to the moſt ſingular ſociety that had ever exiſted. Without any regular ſyſtem, without laws, without any degree of ſubordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the aſtoniſhment of the age in which they lived, as they will alſo be of poſterity. They would have ſubdued all America, had they been animated with the ſpirit of conqueſt, as they were with that of rapine.

England, France, and Holland, had ſent, at different times, conſiderable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of ſubſiſtence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the beſt concerted ſchemes unſucceſsful. Neither of theſe nations acquired any national glory, nor made any conſiderable progreſs by them. Upon the very ſcene of their diſgrace, and on the very ſpot where they were ſo ſhamefully repulſed, a ſmall number of adventurers, who had no other reſources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itſelf afforded them, ſucceeded in the moſt difficult enterprizes. They ſupplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded paſſion for liberty and independence, excited

excited and kept up in them that energy of ſoul that enables us to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that ſuperiority in action, which the moſt approved military diſcipline, the moſt powerful combinations of ſtrength, the beſt regulated governments, the moſt honourable and moſt ſtriking rewards and marks of diſtinction, will never be able to excite.

The principle which actuated theſe extraordinary and romantic men, is not eaſily diſcovered. It cannot be aſcribed to want: the earth they trod upon, offered them immenſe treaſures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have ſquandered away in a day, the ſpoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore ſacrifice themſelves for it's defence, for the aggrandizing of it's territories, or for the avenging of it's quarrels. The love of glory, had they know'n it, would have prevented them from committing ſuch numberleſs enormities and crimes, which caſt a ſhade on all their brighteſt actions. Neither could a ſpirit of indolence and eaſe ever make men expoſe themſelves to conſtant fatigues, and ſubmit to the greateſt dangers.

What then were the moral cauſes that gave riſe to ſo ſingular a ſociety as that of the freebooters? That country, where nature ſeems to have obtained a perpetual and abſolute power over the moſt turbulent paſſions; where the intemperate riot and intoxication occaſioned by public

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public feſtivals, was neceſſary to rouze men from an habitual ſtate of lethargy; where they lived ſatisfied with their tedious and indolent courſe of life: that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who, from the ſcorching heat of their atmoſphere, ſeemed to have carried their ſentiments to the greateſt exceſs, and their paſſions to a degree of phrenzy. While the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the New World; while the Spaniards, who were ſo reſtleſs and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed with the conquered Americans a life habituated to eaſe and dejection; a ſet of men, who had come out of the moſt temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknow'n before.

If we ſhould be deſirous of tracing the origin of this revolution, we ſhall perceive that it ariſes from the free-booters having lived under the ſhackles of European governments. The ſpirit of liberty being repreſſed for ſo many ages, exerted it's power to a degree almoſt inconceivable, and occaſioned the moſt terrible effects that were ever exhibited in the moral world. Reſtleſs and enthuſiaſtic men of every nation joined themſelves to theſe adventurers, as ſoon as they hear'd of the ſucceſs they had met with. The charms of novelty, the idea of and deſire excited by diſtant objects, the want of a change in ſituation, the hopes of better fortune, the impulſe which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which eaſily induces men to imitation, the neceſſity of getting the

better of thoſe impediments that are the conſequences of imprudence, the force of example, and the being equally partakers of the ſame good and bad fortune among thoſe who have frequently aſſociated together; in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with ſeveral accidental circumſtances, had raiſed in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greateſt proſperity, or ſunk in the deepeſt diſtreſs, at one time ſtained with blood, at another revelling in voluptuouſneſs, rendered the free-booters a people wholly diſtinct in hiſtory; but a people whoſe duration was ſo tranſient, that it's glory laſted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accuſtomed to conſider theſe ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deſerve; as the inſtances of fidelity, integrity, diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity, they ſhewed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed againſt mankind. But amidſt ſuch enormities, it is impoſſible not to be ſurprized at a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the moſt virtuous people.

Some free-booters had agreed, for a certain ſum, to eſcort a Spaniſh ſhip, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propoſe to his companions to enrich themſelves at once, by making themſelves maſters of the ſhip. Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no ſooner hear'd the propoſal, than he deſired to reſign the command, and to be ſet on ſhore. What! replied theſe brave men, would you then

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leave us? Is there any one among us who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately called; and it was determined that the guilty perſon ſhould be throw'n upon the firſt coaſt they came to. They took an oath, that ſo diſhoneſt a man ſhould never be admitted in any expedition, in which any of the brave men preſent ſhould be concerned, as they would think themſelves diſhonoured by ſuch a connection. If this be not conſidered as an inſtance of heroiſm, muſt we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthuſiaſm?

Accordingly, the hiſtory of paſt times doth not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of ſuch an aſſociation; which is almoſt as marvellous as the diſcovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given riſe to it, by collecting together, in thoſe diſtant regions, all the men of the higheſt impetuoſity and energy of ſoul that had ever appeared in our ſtates.

Their ſword, and their daring ſpirit, which they exerciſed with ſuch terrible effect in America, was the only fortune which theſe men of ſo uncommon a ſtamp poſſeſſed in Europe. In America, being enemies to all mankind, and dreaded by all; perpetually expoſed to the moſt extreme dangers, they muſt neceſſarily have conſidered every day as if the laſt of their life, and they would, conſequently, diſſipate their wealth in the ſame manner as they had acquired it.

They would give themſelves up to all the exceſſes of debauchery and profuſion, and on their return from the fight, the intoxication of their victory would accompany them in their feaſts; they would embrace their miſtreſſes in their bloody arms; they would fall aſleep, for a while, lulled by voluptuous pleaſures, from which they would be rouzed only to proceed to new maſſacres. As it was a matter of indifference to them, whether they ſhould leave their bodies upon the ſurface of the earth, or underneath the waters, they muſt neceſſarily look upon life, or death, with the ſame coolneſs. With a ferocious turn of mind, and a miſguided conſcience, deſtitute of connections, of relations, of friends, of fellow citizens, of a country, and of an aſylum, and without having any of thoſe motives which moderate the ardour of bravery, by the value which they attach to exiſtence, they muſt neceſſarily have ruſhed, like men deprived of ſight, upon the moſt deſperate attempts. Equally incapable of ſubmitting to indigence, or to quiet; too proud to employ themſelves in common labour, they would have been the ſcourge of the Old, had they not been that of the New World. Had they not gone to ravage thoſe diſtant countries, they would have ranſacked our provinces, and would have left behind them a name famous in the catalogue of our greateſt villains.

Cauſes that prevented the Engliſh and Dutch from making any conqueſt in

AMERICA had ſcarce recovered from the ravages ſhe had ſuſtained; ſhe had ſcarce begun to be ſenſible of the advantages ſhe derived from the induſtry of the free-booters, who were now be-

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America, during the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

come citizens and huſbandmen; when the Old World exhibited the ſcene of ſuch a revolution, as alarmed and terrified the New. Charles the Second, king of Spain, had juſt ended a life of trouble and anxiety. His ſubjects, perſuaded that a deſcendent of the houſe of Bourbon alone was able to preſerve the monarchy entire, had urged him, towards the cloſe of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his ſucceſſor. The idea of having the government of two-and-twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions. But after ſeveral internal ſtruggles, and numberleſs marks of irreſolution, he at length prevailed upon himſelf to ſhew an example of juſtice, and greatneſs of ſoul, which the natural weakneſs of his character gave little reaſon to expect from him.

EUROPE, tired out, for half a century, with the haughtineſs, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis XIV. exerted it's combined forces to prevent the increaſe of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad adminiſtration had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, and conſequently of weakneſs, that prevailed then in France, had procured ſuch advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled, in the inſtance of the union of ſeveral powers againſt a ſingle one. This league gained an influence, that was increaſed by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were ſoon left without ſtrength or fame. To add to their misfor-

tunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a ſenſe of compaſſion at the miſeries they experienced.

England and Holland, after having profuſely laviſhed their blood and treaſures in defence of the Emperor, thought it neceſſary to attend to their own intereſts in America. This country invited them to rich as well as eaſy conqueſts. Spain, ſince the deſtruction of it's galleons at Vigo, had no ſhips; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverſe of fortune that had reduced her to the loweſt ebb, had neglected her navy. This inattention was owen to a diſtant cauſe.

Lewis XIV. who, in his earlier age, was ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, thought that ſomething would be wanting to the ſplendour of his reign if he did not eſtabliſh a conſiderable naval force. His numerous fleets were ſoon in a condition to balance the combined forces of England and of Holland, and conveyed the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. But he ſoon loſt this new ſpecies of grandeur. In proportion as his inordinate ambition drew upon him freſh enemies, as he found himſelf obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in conſtant pay; as the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and as his forts became more numerous, the number of his ſhips decreaſed. He made uſe of part of the funds that were deſtined to ſupport his maritime power, even before his neceſſities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings, that were either uſeleſs or too magnificent, ob-

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jects of oſtentation, or of mere pleaſure, and various other cauſes, equally trifling, abſorbed that part of the public revenue, which ought to have been employed in his maritime armaments. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it inſenſibly declined, and was entirely loſt in the misfortunes of the war that was raiſed for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

At this period, the acquiſitions the Spaniſh and French had made in the Weſt Indies, were not put in a ſtate of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely ſoon to become the property of Great Britain and the United Provinces; the only modern nations who had eſtabliſhed their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vaſt diſcoveries of the Spaniards and Portugueze, had given them, indeed, an excluſive poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures and productions that ſeemed to promiſe them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but theſe nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conqueſt, had never in the leaſt ſuſpected that their poſſeſſions in the New World could ſupport their power in the Old. The Engliſh and Dutch went into the contrary extreme; building their opinions upon the ſyſtem of the influence they ſuppoſed America muſt neceſſarily give to Europe. A ſyſtem which they not only miſapplied, but carried to exceſs.

These two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconſiderable

able ones, had, from the earlieſt period, diſcovered the true principles of commerce, and purſued them with greater perſeverance than might have been expected from the different ſituations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumſtances having at firſt animated the induſtry of the pooreſt of theſe nations, ſhe found herſelf very quickly equalled by her rival power, whoſe genius was more lively, and whoſe reſources were much greater. The war, occaſioned by a ſpirit of induſtry, and excited by jealouſy, ſoon degenerated into fierce, obſtinate, and bloody engagements. Theſe were not merely ſuch hoſtilities as are carried on between two different people; they reſembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man againſt another. The neceſſity they were under of uniting, in order to check and reſtrain the power of France, ſuſpended theſe hoſtilities. The ſucceſs they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and deciſive, revived their former animoſity. From the apprehenſion they were under, that each ſtate was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invaſion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herſelf of a favourable opportunity for concluding a ſeparate peace, procured ſuch advantageous terms, as gave the Engliſh a great ſuperiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time, England became of the greateſt importance in the political ſyſtem of Europe, and Holland was totally diſregarded.

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Remarkable activity that prevailed in the iſlands of America after the peace of Utrecht.

THE years ſucceeding the peace of Utrecht revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a ſufficient ſtate of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not diſturb it's peace, by carrying their arms and their diſſentions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harveſt of the huſbandman was not laid waſte. The ſailor ventured to ſail in every ſea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more ſaw their children forced from them, to laviſh their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious miniſter. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the paſſions of their ſovereigns. For ſome time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at leaſt, as the pride of princes, and the avidity of the people would allow.

ALTHOUGH this general happineſs was to be attributed to thoſe who held the reins of government, yet the improvement of reaſon contributed, in ſome degree, to produce it. Philoſophy then began to lay open and recommend the ſentiments of benevolence. The writings of ſome philoſophers had been made public, or diſperſed among the people, and contributed to poliſh and refine their manners. The ſpirit of moderation had inſpired men with the love of the more uſeful and pleaſing arts of life, and abated, at leaſt, the deſire they till then had of deſtroying one another. The thirſt of blood ſeemed to be aſſuaged, and all nations, with the aſſiſtance of the diſcoveries they had made, ardently ſet about the

the improvement of their population, agriculture, and manufactures.

This ſpirit of activity exerted itſelf principally in the Caribbee Iſlands. The ſtates upon the continent can ſubſiſt, and even flouriſh, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and on their frontiers; becauſe the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their ſubſiſtence and internal conſumptions. This is not the caſe with regard to thoſe ſettlements which different nations have formed in the Great Archipelago of America. In theſe, life and property are equally precarious. None of the neceſſaries of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel, and the inſtruments of huſbandry, are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an eaſy and ſafe communication with Africa, with the northern coaſts of the New World, but principally with Europe, can procure to theſe iſlands that free circulation of the neceſſaries of life they receive, and of thoſe ſuperfluities they give in exchange. The more the coloniſts had ſuffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion that had throw'n every thing into confuſion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the loſſes their fortunes had ſuſtained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakneſs would inſure a laſting tranquillity, encouraged the moſt cautious merchants to ſupply the coloniſts with goods in advance; a circumſtance that contributed greatly to quicken the progreſs they made, which,

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which, notwithſtanding all their care and attention, would otherwiſe have been very ſlow. Theſe aſſiſtances inſured as well as increaſed the proſperity of the iſlands, till a ſtorm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and diſturbed the peace of the world.

The iſlands of America are the cauſe of the war in 1739. Events in that war, and the termination of it.

THE Engliſh colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World, which cuſtom had long made them conſider as lawful. The court of Madrid, becoming better acquainted with it's intereſts, concerted meaſures to put a ſtop to, or at leaſt to check, this intercourſe. The plan might poſſibly be prudent; but it was neceſſary it ſhould be carried into execution with equity. If the ſhips that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only ſeized upon thoſe veſſels that were concerned in it, this meaſure would have deſerved commendation. But the abuſes inſeparable from violent meaſures, the eagerneſs of gain, and perhaps, too a ſpirit of revenge, incited them to ſtop, under the pretence of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ſhips which in reality had a legal deſtination.

ENGLAND, whoſe ſecurity, power and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently ſuffer even her uſurpations to be reſtrained; but was highly incenſed when ſhe found that theſe hoſtilities were carried to an exceſs inconſiſtent with the law of nations. In London, and in the houſe of parliament, general complaints were made againſt the authors of them, and invectives againſt the miniſter who ſuffered them. Walpole, who

who had long ruled Great Britain, and whoſe character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spaniſh council which ſhewed leſs ſpirit as the ſtorm increaſed, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Thoſe fixed upon, and ſigned at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by it's intereſts, it's reſentments, and by party ſpirit, and eſpecially by the number of political writings that were conſtantly publiſhed on the ſubject.

THE ſovereign of any country, who forbids the liberty of diſcuſſing publicly matters of adminiſtration, and politics, gives an authentic atteſtation of his propenſity to tyranny, and of the impropriety of his meaſures. It is juſt as if he were to ſay to the people: "I know full as well as you "do, that what I have determined upon is con- "trary to your liberty, your prerogatives, your "intereſt, your tranquillity, and your happineſs; "but I do not chuſe that you ſhould murmur at "it. I will never ſuffer you to be enlightened, "becauſe it is convenient to me that you ſhould "remain in that ſtate of ſtupidity, which will "prevent you from diſcerning my caprices, my "vanity, my extravagant diſſipations, my oſten- "tation, the depredations of my courtiers and "of my favourites, my ruinous amuſements, "and my ſtill more ruinous paſſions, from the "public good, which never was, is not, nor ever "will be, as far as depends upon me and my ſuc- "ceſſors, any thing more than a decent pre- "tence. Every thing I do is well done, you "may either believe or not, as you chooſe, but "you

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" you muſt be ſilent. I will prove to you, by " all the moſt extravagant and atrocious mea- " ſures, that I reign for myſelf alone, and neither " by you, nor for you. And if any one of you " ſhould be raſh enough to contradict me, let " him periſh in the obſcurity of a dungeon, or " let him be ſtrangled, that he may for ever be " deprived of the powers of committing a ſimi- " lar act of indiſcretion; for ſuch is my will and " pleaſure." In conſequence of ſuch declarations, a man of genius muſt be either ſilent or be put to death; and a nation muſt be kept in a ſtate of barbariſm, with reſpect to their religion, their laws, their morals, and their government, and in the ignorance of the moſt important things relative to their real intereſts, to their power, to their trade, to their ſplendour, and to their felicity; while all the nations around are improving themſelves by the daring efforts, and the concurrence of numbers of enlightened men, whoſe views are directed to thoſe objects alone that are really worthy of their attention. The reaſoning of an adminiſtration, which prohibits information, is defective in every particular; the progreſs of improvement is not to be ſtopt, nor even to be checked, without manifeſt diſadvantage. Prohibition hath no other effect than to irritate men, and to inſpire them with an idea of rebellion, and to give to all their writings a libellous tendency. It is doing too much honour to innocent ſubjects, to be alarmed at a few pages of writing, when two hundred thouſand aſſaſſins are ready to execute the orders of government.

ENGLAND teems daily with numberleſs productions of the preſs, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among theſe writings ſome are judicious, written by men of underſtanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to diſcover to the public their true intereſts, and to aſſiſt the operations of government. Few uſeful regulations of internal œconomy are adopted in the ſtate, that have not firſt been pointed out, modelled, or improved in ſome of theſe writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of ſuch an advantage.

'BUT it may be ſaid, that among the few 'ſenſible men who ſerve to enlighten their coun-'try, numbers are to be met with, who either from 'a diſguſt to thoſe in power, or from a deſire of 'falling in with the taſte of the people, or from 'ſome perſonal motives, delight in fomenting a 'ſpirit of diſſention and diſcontent. The means 'generally made uſe of for this purpoſe, are to 'heighten the pretenſions of their country beyond 'their juſt and legal bounds, and to make the peo-'ple conſider the ſmalleſt precautions taken by 'other powers for the preſervation of their poſ-'ſeſſions, as viſible incroachments. Theſe exag-'gerations, equally partial and falſe, eſtabliſh 'prejudices, the effects of which occaſion the na-'tion to be conſtantly at war with it's neighbours. 'If government, from a deſire of preſerving the 'balance of juſtice between itſelf and other 'powers, ſhould refuſe to yield to popular pre-

'judices,

'judices, it finds itſelf, at length, compelled to 'it.'

THE liberty of the preſs is undoubtedly attended with theſe inconveniencies; but they are ſo trifling, and ſo tranſient, when compared with the advantages reſulting from it, that they do not deſerve our notice. The queſtion is reduced to this: *Is it better that a people ſhould be in a perpetual ſtate of ſtupidity, than that they ſhould be ſometimes turbulent?* Sovereigns, if ye mean to be wicked, ſuffer your people to write; you will find men corrupt enough to ſerve you according to your evil deſires; and who will improve you in the art of a Tiberius. If ye mean to be good, permit them alſo to write; you will find ſome honeſt men who will improve you in the art of a Trajan. How many things are ye ſtill ignorant of, before ye can become great, either in good or in evil.

THE mob of London, the moſt contemptible of any in the univerſe, as the people of England conſidered in a political view, are the firſt people in the world; abetted by twenty thouſand young men, the ſons of diſtinguiſhed merchants, beſet the parliament houſe with clamours and threats, and influence it's deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itſelf. Theſe deſpicable men, once rouzed, revile the moſt reſpectable citizen, who hath incurred their diſpleaſure, and been rendered ſuſpicious to them: they ſet fire to his houſe, and ſcandalouſly inſult the moſt ſacred characters. The tumult can never

never be appeaſed, unleſs they force the miniſtry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public meaſures, was, perhaps, never ſo ſenſibly felt as at the period we are ſpeaking of.

ENGLAND began the war with much ſuperior advantages. She had a great number of ſailors on foot. Her magazines were filled with warlike ſtores, and her dock-yards were in the moſt flouriſhing condition. Her fleets were all manned and ready for ſervice, and commanded by experienced officers, who waited only for orders to ſet ſail, and to ſpread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting ſuch great advantages, muſt not be cenſured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above ſuſpicion, ſince he was never even accuſed of corruption, in a country where ſuch charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehenſion he was under of involving himſelf in difficulties that might endanger his adminiſtration; the neceſſity he found of applying thoſe treaſures in military operations, that he had amaſſed to bribe and ſecure to himſelf a party, joined to that of impoſing new taxes, which muſt neceſſarily raiſe to the higheſt degree the averſion that had been entertained both for his perſon and principles: all theſe, and ſome other circumſtances, occaſioned an irreſolution in his conduct that was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He loſt time, which is of the utmoſt importance

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importance in every expedition, but particularly decisive in all naval operations.

The fleet that Vernon commanded, after having destroyed Porto-Bello, was unsuccessful at Carthagena, rather from the badness of the climate, and the misunderstanding and inexperience of the officers, than from the valour of the garrison. Anson's fleet was lost at the doubling of Cape Horn, which some months sooner might have been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole squadron, from what he actually performed with a single ship, it is not improbable but that he would at least have shaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A settlement that was attempted in the island of Cuba was not prosperous. Those who intended building a city there, all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raise the siege of fort St. Austin in Florida, vigorously defended by Manuel Montiano, who had been allowed time enough to prepare himself against the attack.

Though the first efforts of the English against Spanish America were not successful, yet the alarm was not appeased. The navy, the character, and government of the English, were three great resources they had still left, sufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with those of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of such as were overwhelmed with fear.

Fortunately

Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the emperor Charles the VIth had kindled in Europe an obſtinate war, in which the Britiſh troops were detained, to ſupport an intereſt that was extremely doubtful. The hoſtilities, commenced in diſtant countries with ſuch great preparations, terminated at laſt inſenſibly in a few piracies, that were committed on both ſides. The moſt remarkable event that happened at that time, was the taking of Cape-Breton, which expoſed the fiſhery, commerce, and colonies of France, to the greateſt dangers. This valuable poſſeſſion was reſtored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up, was not leſs the object of cenſure.

The French, ever influenced by a ſpirit of chivalry, that hath ſo long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the ſacrifice of their lives ſufficiently compenſated, if it hath contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to ſay, when they have compelled their prince to the neceſſity of governing them with leſs attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the ſame as it was before the war, they then think their honour is loſt. This rage for conqueſt, excuſable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones ſhould never be reproached with, threw diſgrace on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which reſtored to Auſtria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious to attend to political diſcuſſions, could not be convinced, that by forming any kind of eſtabliſhment for the In-

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fant Don Philip; an alliance with Spain was effectually ſecured; that ſhe herſelf was thereby engaged to adjuſt, with the houſe of Auſtria, ſome intereſts of the greateſt importance; that by becoming guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for Sileſia, two rival powers would, in conſequence of ſuch an arrangement, be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that by reſtoring Friburg, and thoſe towns in Flanders that had been deſtroyed, they would be eaſily retaken, if war ſhould again be declared and carried on with vigour: beſides, that the number of land forces might always be very eaſily diminiſhed of fifty-thouſand men, and the ſaving which ſuch a reduction would produce, might and ought to have been employed in increaſing the navy.

If, therefore, the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of it's affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming ſtate; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined; if ſome of her moſt conſiderable provinces had not been in the greateſt diſtreſs; if ſhe had not loſt the key of Canada; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invaſion; if her navy had not been ſo entirely deſtroyed, as ſcarcely to have a ſhip left to ſend into the New World; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a ſeparate treaty with England: independent of all theſe circumſtances, yet the peace, that was then made, would have deſerved the approbation of the moſt ſenſible and judicious men.

THE eaſe with which Marſhal Saxe could penetrate into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing ſeemed impoſſible to the victorious arms of Lewis XV.; but it may be thought paradoxical to aſſert, that the Engliſh were extremely deſirous of ſeeing the Dutch ſubdued. If the republic, which could not poſſibly ſeparate itſelf from it's allies, had been conquered, it's inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient as well as preſent prejudices againſt the government, laws, manners and religion of their conqueror, would hardly have ſubmitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their ſtock, and their induſtry to Great Britain? And can there be the leaſt doubt whether ſuch conſiderable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the Engliſh, than an alliance with the Dutch?

TO this obſervation let us venture to add another, which though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not ſeem leſs evident. The court of Vienna hath been thought either very fortunate, or very ſkilful, in having been able, by the means of negociations, to wreſt out of the hands of the French thoſe places which had been taken from them during the war. But would they not have been more fortunate, or more ſkilful, had they ſuffered their enemy to keep part of the conqueſts they had obtained? The period is now paſſed, when the houſe of Auſtria was equal, or perhaps ſuperior in ſtrength to the houſe of

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Bourbon. Policy, therefore, ſhould have engaged her to intereſt other powers in her fortune, even from the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained. This might have been effected by ſacrificing ſomething, apparently, at leaſt, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increaſing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy and fear, would have renewed that ſpirit of animoſity that had been ſwor'n againſt Lewis XIV.; and more formidable leagues would neceſſarily have been formed in conſequence of ſuch ſentiments. This general diſpoſition of the people was more likely to have recovered the greatneſs of the new houſe of Auſtria, than the re-acquiſition of a diſtant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negociation, as well as the miniſter who directed it, would have ſeen through the artifice. We do not even ſcruple to aſſert, that neither of theſe ſtateſmen had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the ſame penetration to unravel political deſigns in the council, to which they were reſponſible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot preſume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories; and that of France is, from it's conſtitution, equally ſo.

But whatever truth there may be in theſe reflections, it muſt be allowed, that the expectations of the two French miniſters, who ſettled the peace, were diſappointed. The principal object they had in view was the preſervation of the colonies, that had

had been threatened by the enemy. But as ſoon as the danger was over, this unbounded ſource of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the ſame manner as if another Charles V. had threatened her frontiers, or another Philip II. could have throw'n the internal parts of the kingdom into confuſion by his intrigues. She was not ſenſible that her ſuperiority upon the continent was acknowleged, that no ſingle power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the laſt war, and the arrangements ſettled by the laſt peace, had rendered the union of ſeveral powers againſt her impoſſible. A number of apprehenſions, equally weak and trifling, diſturbed her tranquillity. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that ſhe had only one enemy really deſerving her attention, and that this enemy could only be reſtrained by a conſiderable fleet.

The Engliſh, more inclined to envy the proſperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only deſirous of becoming rich, but of being excluſively ſo. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly ſeek to extend their dominion, but their colonies. Commerce is the ſole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the deſire of engroſſing it all to themſelves, hath made them perform many great actions, and commit the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice, and obliges them to perſevere in the ſame conduct. Will the nations never be tired of that ſpecies of tyranny which ſets them at

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defiance, and degrades them? Will they perpetually continue in that ſtate of weakneſs, which compels them to ſubmit to a deſpotiſm they would be very deſirous of annihilating? If they ſhould ever form an alliance among themſelves, how could one ſingle power be able to reſiſt them, unleſs deſtiny were always in it's favour, which it would be very imprudent to depend upon? Who is it that hath inſured eternal proſperity to the Engliſh? and if it could be inſured to them, would it not be too dearly purchaſed by the loſs of a tranquillity which they could never enjoy? and would they not be too ſeverely puniſhed for it, by the alarms of a ſpirit of jealouſy, which ever obliges them to keep an anxious and watchful eye upon the ſlighteſt movements of the other powers? Is it very glorious; is it very pleaſing; is it very advantageous; and is it very ſafe, for one nation to reign in the midſt of others, as a Sultan in the midſt of his ſlaves? Will a dangerous increaſe of outward enmity be ſufficiently compenſated by the baneful increaſe of inward opulence? Engliſhmen, avidity knows no bounds; but patience hath it's end, which is almoſt always fatal to thoſe who urge it to that extreme. But the paſſion for trade exerts ſuch influence over you, that even your philoſophers are governed by it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle uſed to ſay, that it would be a commendable action to preach Chriſtianity to the ſavages; becauſe, were they to know only ſo much of it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes,

clothes, it would prove of great ſervice to the Engliſh manufactures.

America was the cauſe of the war in 1755.

A SYSTEM of this nature, which the Engliſh have ſcarce ever loſt ſight of, diſcovered itſelf more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies ſurpriſed every attentive mind, and awakened the jealouſy of the Engliſh. Aſhamed, however, to let it appear at firſt, they concealed it for ſome time under myſterious diſguiſes; and a people who have pride or modeſty enough to term negociations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not ſcruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the moſt inſidious policy.

FRANCE, alarmed at the confuſed ſtate of her finances, intimidated by the ſmall number of her ſhips, and the inexperience of her admirals; ſeduced by a love of eaſe, pleaſure and tranquillity, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did ſome able ſtateſmen continually urge, that Great Britain was and ought to be deſirous of a war; and that ſhe was compelled to begin it, before the naval eſtabliſhment of her rival had attained to the ſame degree of perfection as her trading navy. Theſe cauſes of apprehenſion ſeemed abſurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a ſpirit of imitation only; where it had been ſhackled by every ſpecies of reſtraint, and always ſacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and where men knew not, perhaps, that they were in poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable and richeſt commerce in the world. A nation, that was in-

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debted to nature for a moſt excellent ſoil; to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her diſpoſition, for a taſte in thoſe arts which vary and increaſe the enjoyments of life; to her conqueſts and her literary merit, and even to the diſperſion of the Proteſtants ſhe had unfortunately loſt, for the deſire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would be too happy, were ſhe permitted to enjoy her happineſs, would not perceive that ſhe might be deprived of ſome of theſe advantages, and inſenſibly fell a ſacrifice to thoſe arts employed to lull her into ſecurity. When the Engliſh thought there was no further occaſion to diſſemble, they commenced hoſtilities, without having previouſly paid any attention to thoſe formalities that are in uſe among civilized people.

Did the nation, which is reckoned ſo proud, ſo humane, and ſo prudent, reflect upon what was doing? It reduced the moſt ſacred conventions of nations among themſelves, to the artifices of a perfidious policy; it freed them from the common tie that connects them, by diſcarding the chimerical idea of the right of nations. Did theſe people perceive, that they were fixing a conſtant ſtate of war; that they were making peace a time of apprehenſion only; that they were introducing on the globe nothing but a falſe and deceitful ſecurity; that ſovereigns were becoming ſo many wolves, ready to devour each other; that the empire of diſcord was becoming unbounded; that the moſt cruel and moſt juſt reprizals were authorized; and that

arms were no longer to be laid aſide? At that time there was a half Themiſtocles in the miniſtry; but there was not one Ariſtides in all Great Britain; ſince, far from exclaiming, in imitation of the Athenians, who were not themſelves the moſt ſcrupulous men among the Greeks: *The thing is uſeful, but it is not honeſt; let it be mentioned no more:* the Engliſh, on the contrary, congratulated themſelves upon an ignominious act, againſt which the voice of all Europe was raiſed with indignation. Acts of hoſtility, without a declaration of war, when there is even no treaty of peace ſubſiſting, is the proceeding of barbarians. Hoſtilities, againſt the faith of treaties, but preceded by a declaration of war, by what pretence ſoever it may be palliated, would be a diſguſting act of injuſtice, if the habit of it had not been frequent, and if the ſhame of it did not light upon almoſt all the powers. Hoſtilities, without a declaration of war, againſt a neighbouring people, who are quietly repoſing themſelves upon the faith of treaties, upon the right of nations, upon a reciprocal intercourſe of good-will, upon civilized manners, upon the ſame God, upon the ſame worſhip, upon the reciprocal reſidence and protection granted to the citizens of both nations in their reſpective countries: ſuch hoſtilities are a crime, which, in every ſociety, would be treated as murder on the highway; and if there were any expreſs code againſt it, as there is a tacit one, formed and ſubſcribed to between all nations, we ſhould then read the following ſentence:

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LET US ALL UNITE AGAINST THE TRAITOR, AND LET HIM BE EXTERMINATED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH. The nation that commits ſuch a crime, purſues it's intereſt with unbounded and ſhameleſs jealouſy; it ſhews that it is deſtitute of equity and honour; that it deſpiſes equally the judgment of the preſent time, and the cenſure of poſterity; and that it hath more regard for it's exiſtence among nations, than for the colours it will be painted in, in their hiſtory. If it be the ſtrongeſt, it is a mean tyrant; it is a lion, which debaſes itſelf to act the abject part of a fox. If it be the weakeſt, and be apprehenſive for itſelf, it may, perhaps, be leſs odious, but it is equally baſe. How much more noble, and how much more advantageous, was the cuſtom of the Roman people! Let us open, as they did, the gates of our temples; let an ambaſſador be ſent to the enemy's frontiers, and there let him declare war, by ſhaking the ſkirts of his garments, at the ſound of the trumpet of the herald that attends him. Let us not maſſacre an enemy that ſleeps. If we dip our hand into the blood of him who thinks himſelf our friend, the ſtain of it will never be wiped off. It will always call to mind the Macbeth of the poet.

THOUGH a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which ſeem to be bound by no ties as ſoon as they intend to maſſacre one another; yet it is very evident, that the Britiſh miniſtry were more than doubtful of the injuſtice of their conduct. The timidity of their meaſures, the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating

cating modes of juſtification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve ſo ſcandalous a violation; theſe, with ſeveral other circumſtances, plainly diſcovered the guilt of their proceeding. If thoſe weak miniſters of ſo great a power had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardleſs of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the moſt extenſive nature. When they unjuſtly gave orders to attack all the French ſhips upon the northern coaſt of America, they would have extended theſe orders to every ſea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any reſiſtance, would have been the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſtrong confederacy. It's fall would have intimidated all other nations, and wherever the Engliſh flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A ſucceſs ſo remarkable and deciſive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have juſtified it to the political world, and the remonſtrances of the wiſe would have been loſt in the clamours of the ignorant and ambitious.

The beginning of the war is untavourable to the Engliſh.

A TIMID, but equally unjuſtifiable conduct, was attended with very contrary effects. The council of George II. was hated, as well as deſpiſed, over all Europe; and the events correſponded to theſe ſentiments. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained conſiderable advantages by ſea, took Minorca, and threatened London itſelf. Her rival

was

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was then ſenſible of the truth of what men of underſtanding had long ſince obſerved in England, that the French united the greateſt contrarieties in their character; that they blended virtues and vices, marks of weakneſs and ſtrength that had always been thought inconſiſtent with each other; that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted to pleaſure and glory; ſerious in trifles, and trifling in matters of importance; ever diſpoſed to war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere children, ſuffering themſelves, as the Athenians of old, to be diſquieted and moved to anger for real or imaginary intereſts; fond of enterprize and action, ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the greateſt misfortunes with the moſt trifling ſucceſs. The Engliſh, who, according to a vulgar, though ſtrong expreſſion of Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began then to be too much afraid of a nation that they had unjuſtly deſpiſed. A ſpirit of deſpondency ſucceeded to that of preſumption.

THE nation, corrupted by the too great confidence it had placed in it's opulence; humbled by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the moral character and inability of it's governors; weakened too by the colliſion of factions, which keep up an exertion of ſtrength among a free people in times of peace, but which deſtroy their power in times of war: the nation, diſgraced, aſtoniſhed, and uncertain what meaſures to purſue; equally ſenſible of the diſtreſſes it had already been expoſed to, as of thoſe it foreſaw,

was

was incapable of exerting itſelf to avenge the one, or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cauſe was confined to the granting of immenſe ſupplies. That the coward is ſooner diſpoſed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off danger; and that the preſent critical ſituation of affairs required them not to conſider who ſhould pay, but who ſhould ſtand forward to fight; theſe were truths, which, at that time, ſeemed to have been forgotten.

The French, on their part, were dazzled with ſome inſtances of ſucceſs that were of no conſequence. Preſuming, that the ſurpriſe their enemies had been throw'n into, was a proof of their weakneſs, they involved themſelves further than was conſiſtent with their intereſt, in the diſturbances which then began to divide the German powers.

A system, which, if unſucceſsful, muſt have been attended with the greateſt diſgrace, and if fortunate, muſt have been deſtructive in the end, ſerved to confound them. Their levity made them forget, that a few months before they had applauded the wiſe and enlightened ſtateſman, who, being deſirous to avoid a land war, which ſome miniſters were willing to enter into, from their deſpairing of ſucceſs at ſea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following words: *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *let us all, who are here preſent in council, go out, with torches in our hands, and ſet fire to all our ſhips, if they are uſeleſs to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies inſult us.* This political

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political infatuation threw them into the greateſt difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was ſubjected to the intrigues of the court. A ſeries of bad ſucceſs was the conſequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and ſuperficial nation did not perceive, that even ſuppoſing, what indeed was impoſſible, that all thoſe who were ſucceſſively intruſted with the direction of the military operations, had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage againſt a man of genius, aſſiſted by one of diſtinguiſhed capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the plan that had been formed, and the changes of generals were endleſs.

While the French were thus deceived, the Engliſh, from a ſpirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmoſt reſentment: they changed a miniſter who had juſtly excited general diſſatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid meaſures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Although this choice was the conſequence of that ſpirit of party which cauſes the greateſt revolutions in England, yet it was ſuch as the circumſtances of the times required. William Pitt, had a ſoul formed for great deſigns; was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecies of eloquence that never failed to captivate his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterpriſing. He was ambitious to make his country riſe ſuperior to all others, and at the ſame time to raiſe his own fame. His enthuſiaſm fired a nation, which will always be inſpired by a love of liberty. The admiral

admiral who had ſuffered Minorca to be taken, was arreſted, throw'n into priſon, accuſed, tried, and ſentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family, nor friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ſhip was fixed upon as the ſpot where the ſentence paſſed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether guilty or not, proclaimed in the moſt alarming manner to thoſe who were employed by the nation, what fate they muſt expect, if they betrayed the confidence repoſed in them. Every man ſaid to himſelf, in the inſtant of battle: It is on this field I muſt die, rather than with infamy on a ſcaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accuſed of cowardice, was productive of a ſpirit of heroiſm.

This ſyſtem of holding out an example of terror to ſubdue the impreſſions of fear, was further ſtrengthened by an emulation, that ſeemed to promiſe the revival of public ſpirit. Diſſipation, pleaſure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occaſion warm and frequent connections in moſt kingdoms of Europe. The Engliſh have leſs intercourſe and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, leſs taſte for ſocial life than other nations; but the idea of any project that may be ſerviceable to the ſtate, immediately unites them, and they ſeem, as it were, animated by one ſoul. All ranks, parties, and ſects, contribute to inſure it's ſucceſs, and with ſuch

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ſuch liberality as cannot be paralleled in thoſe places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail.

And, in fact, why ſhould we be concerned for the glory of a nation, when we can expect no other return for the ſacrifices we make, than an increaſe of miſery; when victories and defeats are equally fatal; victories, by giving riſe to taxes to pave the way for them; and defeats, by occaſioning taxes to repair them? If there were not ſome little remains of honour ſubſiſting in us, in ſpite of all the efforts that are made uſe of to ſtifle it, and which proves, that under vexations of every kind, the people ſtill retain ſome feeling for the diſgrace of the nation, they would be equally affected with it's proſperity or it's misfortunes. Will they experience better treatment, whether the ſovereign be victorious or conquered; whether he acquire or loſe a province; whether trade ſhould fall or proſper? The zeal of the Engliſh is more remarkably diſtinguiſhed, when the nation hath placed an implicit confidence in the miniſter who hath the direction of public meaſures. As ſoon as Mr. Pitt was made prime miniſter, a marine ſociety was eſtabliſhed, which, perceiving that there appeared a remiſſneſs in general to enter into the ſea ſervice, and diſapproving the cuſtom of preſſing men into it, invited the children of the pooreſt claſs in the three kingdoms to become ſhip boys, and their fathers ſailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage; to take care of them in ſickneſs; to feed, clothe, and furniſh them with every

every thing neceſſary to preſerve their health during the time they were to be at ſea. The king, moved by this inſtance of patriotiſm, gave them 22,500 livres *; the prince of Wales 9,000 livres†, and the princeſs of Wales 4,500 ‡. The actors of the different theatres, whoſe abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their beſt plays for the increaſe of ſo reſpectable an eſtabliſhment. The theatres were never ſo much crowded as on this occaſion. A hundred of theſe ſhip boys, and a hundred of the ſailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be holden ſacred, appeared upon the ſtage; a decoration this ſurely, not inferior to that ariſing from the multitude of lights, the elegance of dreſs, and the brilliancy of jewels.

The Engliſh are roused from their lethargy, and ſeize the French and Spaniſh iſlands. Account of the author of theſe ſucceſſes.

THIS public zeal and attachment to the intereſts of the nation, animated the minds of all the Engliſh, and the effects of it were diſplayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coaſts of their enemies; beat them every where by ſea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Weſtphalia. They drove them out of North-America, Africa, and the Eaſt-Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became miniſter, all the expeditions of the nation, made in diſtant countries, had been unſucceſsful, and muſt neceſſarily have been ſo, becauſe they had been ill-concerted. He, on the contrary, planned ſuch prudent and uſeful deſigns; his preparations were conducted with ſo much foreſight and diſpatch;

* 937 l. 10 s. † 375 l. ‡ 187 l. 10 s.

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his means were ſo well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made ſuch a prudent choice of the perſons whom he intruſted with his deſigns; he eſtabliſhed ſuch harmony between the land and ſea forces, and raiſed the ſpirits of the Engliſh to ſuch a height, that his whole adminiſtration was a ſeries of conqueſts. His mind, ſtill ſuperior to his glory, made him deſpiſe the idle clamours of thoſe, who cenſured what they called his profuſions. He uſed to ſay with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchaſed by money, and that money muſt not be ſpared at the expence of victory.*

By ſuch a conduct, and ſuch principles, Mr. Pitt had at all times, and in all places, triumphed over the French. He purſued them to their moſt valuable iſlands, even to their ſugar colonies. Theſe poſſeſſions, ſo juſtly prized for their riches, were not, however, better ſecured. The fortifications that were erected there, were conſtructed without judgment, and were falling to decay. Theſe ruins were equally deſtitute of defenders, of arms, and of ammunition. Ever ſince the beginning of hoſtilities, all intercourſe between theſe great ſettlements and the mother-country, had been at an end. They could neither receive ſubſiſtence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings neceſſary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The maſters and the ſlaves, equally deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle deſtined for the labours of huſbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached them, it was

was through ſo many dangers, that the coloniſts were obliged to pay for what they bought of theſe traders at a very advanced price, and to give them in exchange whatever they conſented to take from them at the loweſt. Though the coloniſts did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their aſſiſtance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother-country would induce them to make a vigorous defence againſt an enemy that might put an end to their diſtreſſes.

In this ſituation of affairs, ten ſhips of the line, ſome bomb-ketches and frigates, with five thouſand land-forces, ſailed from England, and arrived at Guadalupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Baſſe-Terre. If the beſiegers had know'n how to take advantage of the terror they had ſpread, the iſland would have made a very ſhort reſiſtance: but the ſlowneſs, timidity, and irreſolution of their operations afforded the garriſon and the inhabitants leiſure to fortify themſelves in a paſs that was only at the diſtance of two leagues from the place. From this ſpot they ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy, who were equally diſtreſſed from the heat of the climate and the want of proviſions. The Engliſh, deſpairing of making themſelves maſters of the colony on this ſide, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, know'n by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made ſtill leſs reſiſtance than that of Baſſe-Terre, that had ſurrendered in four and twenty hours.

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The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniencies from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who ſucceeded to the command at the death of Hopſon, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-embarked his ſoldiers, who ſucceſſively attacked the houſes and villages upon the coaſts. The ravages they committed, obliged the coloniſts to ſubmit. The whole iſland, after three months defence, ſurrendered on the 21ſt day of April, upon very honourable terms of capitulation.

The troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a deſign that had been too haſtily given up; but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monckton, and eighteen ſhips of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the firſt ſent from North America, and the latter from Europe, appeared before the capital of the iſland. The landing of the troops the next day was ſoon effected, without difficulty and without loſs. To take poſſeſſion of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, ſeemed to be a matter not ſo eaſily accompliſhed. Theſe obſtacles, however, were after ſome warm engagements ſurmounted, and the place that would ſoon have been reduced to aſhes by the bombs, capitulated on the

the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the ſame on the 13th. It is probable that the proſperity of Guadalupe under the Britiſh government, contributed to bring about this general ſurrender; which might, and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada and the other Leeward Iſlands, whether ſubject to France, or which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, ſurrendered themſelves, without making any reſiſtance.

Even St. Domingo, the only poſſeſſion the French ſtill retained in the Archipelago of America, was likely to fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and it's loſs ſeemed to be not far diſtant. If it had not even been know'n that this was the firſt conqueſt Great Britain would attempt, yet it could not be ſuppoſed that it would eſcape it's avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of it's own ſucceſſes ſo far as to give up all thoughts of a conqueſt that would have completed it's proſperity? This was a point that ſeemed not to admit of a doubt. The colony was generally know'n to be entirely without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. It was ſo ſenſible of it's weakneſs, that it ſeemed diſpoſed to ſurrender as ſoon as it ſhould be ſummoned to do it.

The court of Verſailles was equally aſtoniſhed and alarmed at the loſſes it had ſuſtained, and at thoſe it foreſaw. It had expected ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance as would have been ſuperior to every attack. The deſcendants of thoſe brave adventurers,

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venturers, who had ſettled theſe colonies, ſeemed a rampart ſufficient to repel all the forces of the Britiſh empire. They almoſt felt a ſecret ſatisfaction that the Engliſh were directing their efforts towards that quarter. The miniſtry had inſpired the nation with the ſame confidence that poſſeſſed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to ſhew the leaſt uneaſineſs.

It is an obſervation we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whoſe whole fortune conſiſts in fields and paſtures will, if influenced by any degree of ſpirit, reſolutely defend their poſſeſſions. The harveſt of one year is the utmoſt they can loſe, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not diſtreſs them to ſuch a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The caſe is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of theſe colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the riſque of having the labours of their whole lives deſtroyed, their ſlaves carried off, and all the hopes of their poſterity either loſt by fire or plunder: they will therefore always ſubmit to the enemy. Though ſatisfied with the government under which they live, they are leſs attached to it's glory than to their own riches.

The example of the firſt coloniſts, whoſe perſeverance could not be ſhaken by the moſt vigorous attacks, does not affect the truth of this obſervation. The object of the war was then the acquiſition of territory, and the expulſion of the inhabitants;

ants; at preſent, a war waged againſt a colony is directed only againſt the ſovereign of it.

THE plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt, though he was not in the miniſtry when it was ſubdued. The reſignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deſerves to be conſidered by every one, who inveſtigates the cauſes and effects of political revolutions. An hiſtorian, who ventures to write the tranſactions of his own age, hath ſeldom, it muſt be granted, ſufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are ſo ſecret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that ſurrounds them. Their miniſters, faithful depoſitaries of the ſecrets they have been intruſted with, or intereſted to conceal them, explain themſelves no further than is ſufficient to miſlead the curious inquirer, who wiſhes to diſcover them. Whatever penetration he may poſſeſs, in tracing the ſource and connection of events, he is at laſt reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be juſt, ſtill he is ignorant that they are ſo, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is ſcarcely more ſatisfactory than a total ignorance. He muſt, therefore, wait till prudence and intereſt, freed from the reſtraint of ſilence, ſhall unfold the truth; in a word, 'till ſome valuable and original records be produced for public inſpection, wherein the latent ſprings on which the deſtiny of nations hath depended, ſhall be diſcovered.

THESE reflections ſhould ſuſpend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progreſs of political intrigues. They are diſſolved as

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ſoon as they are formed. We could only collect ſeparate parts of them, which could not be brought together unleſs by conjecture, which might be the further diſtant from the truth, in proportion as more ſagacity had been diſplayed in the forming of it. We ſhould often be likely to fill up with ſome great view, or with ſome profound ſpeculation, a vacancy which preſents itſelf, from our ignorance of ſome witticiſm, of ſome frivolous caprice, of ſome trifling reſentment, or of ſome childiſh emotion of jealouſy: for theſe are the wonderful levers with which the earth hath ſo often been moved, and will ſtill be moved hereafter. If it be then prudent to ſay nothing of the obſcure cauſes of events, it is at leaſt the time to ſpeak of the character of thoſe who have conducted them. We know what they were in their infancy, in their youth, in a more mature age, in their family and in ſociety, in private life, and in public affairs. We know what their natural and acquired talents were; their ruling paſſions, their vices, their virtues, their inclinations and their averſions; their connections, their animoſities, and their friendſhips; their perſonal and relative intereſts; the marks of favour or diſgrace they have experienced; the means they have employed to obtain their high poſts, and to maintain themſelves in them; the conduct they have obſerved with regard to their protectors and their dependents; the projects they have conceived, and the manner in which they have executed them; the character of the men they have employed; the obſtacles they have met with, and the

the manner in which they have ſurmounted them: in a word, we know the ſucceſs they have had; the reward they have obtained in conſequence of it; the puniſhment they have ſuffered when they have miſcarried; the praiſe or blame beſtowed upon them by the nation; the manner in which they have ended their career, and the reputation they have left behind them after death.

We are deſirous of penetrating into the ſoul of one of the greateſt men of his age, and perhaps we can never do it at a more proper time. The moſt conſpicuous actions only of a man's life are tranſmitted to poſterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of ſimple and artleſs details, that enlighten the mind of an obſerver, who lived at the time they happened.

Mr. Pitt, after having reſcued England from the kind of diſgrace it had been expoſed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of ſucceſs that aſtoniſhed all the world. Whether he foreſaw this or not, he did not ſeem to be embarraſſed with it, and reſolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation which ſo many ſtateſmen had affected before him, ſeemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakneſs or their indolence. He thought that all ſtates ſhould exert their power to the utmoſt, and that there was no inſtance of one nation being able to become ſuperior to another, and not effecting it. The parallel he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived with uneaſineſs, that the power of England, founded upon a trade which

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which ſhe might and would loſe, was very inconſiderable, when compared with that of her rival; which nature, art, and particular circumſtances had raiſed to ſuch a degree of ſtrength, under favourable adminiſtrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Senſible of this truth, he therefore determined to deprive France of her colonies, and to reduce her to that ſtate, to which the freedom of the New World, ſooner or later accompliſhed, will bring all nations that have formed ſettlements there.

The means neceſſary to complete this project, which was ſo far advanced, appeared to him abſolutely certain. While the imagination of weak minds took ſhadows for realities, the greateſt difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was ſometimes alarmed at his vaſt and uncommon enterpriſes, he was not in the leaſt diſquieted about them; becauſe, in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, the courſe of which he knew how to direct which way he would.

Perfectly indifferent with regard to fortune, he was ſtill more ſo with regard to power. His ſucceſſes had made his adminiſtration abſolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the ſovereign he was a deſpotic miniſter. To think differently from him, was a mark of being an enemy to the common cauſe.

He availed himſelf of the ſuperiority he had gained, in order to excite the ardour of the people. Little influenced by that ſpecies of philoſophy, which, diveſting itſelf of the prejudices of national

national glory, to extend it's views to the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of univerſal reaſon; he kept up a violent and ſavage ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which he called, and, perhaps, believed to be a love of his country; but which was, in reality, nothing more than a ſtrong averſion for the nation he wanted to oppreſs.

France was perhaps as much diſcouraged by this ſpirit of inveteracy, that conſtantly purſued her, as by the diſtreſſes ſhe had undergone. The diminution, the exhauſted ſtate, or, to ſay the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a diſcouraging proſpect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate ſucceſs by land might occaſion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their ſquadrons had deſtroyed one or ſeveral of thoſe of her rival, the Engliſh would not have renounced any of their claims. This is one general rule; and another is, that whenever any power hath acquired a very determined ſuperiority at ſea, it can never loſe it in the courſe of the war; more particularly, if that ſuperiority can be traced from a diſtant cauſe, and eſpecially if it proceed partly from the character of the nation. The ſuperiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a ſingle man, and may be loſt in a moment: on the contrary, ſuperiority at ſea, as it reſults from the vigilance and intereſt of each individual in the ſtate, muſt always increaſe, particularly when it is encouraged by national conſtitution:

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conſtitution: a ſudden invaſion can only put a ſtop to it.

NOTHING but a general confederacy could have reſtored the balance of power; the impoſſibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly ſaw. He knew the reſtraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Ruſſians, and the little regard that ſeveral of theſe powers paid to the intereſts of France. He was conſcious alſo of the terror which the Engliſh forces had ſpread among them all, the miſtruſt they entertained of each other, and the apprehenſion that each of them muſt have, that they ſhould be diſtreſſed before they could receive aſſiſtance.

THE affairs of Spain were particularly circumſtanced. The ravages that laid waſte the French colonies, and which every day increaſed, might eaſily extend to the ſettlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be ſenſible of the danger that threatened it, it's uſual indolence accompanied it with regard to theſe great objects. At length, upon a change of miniſter, a new ſyſtem took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguiſh the flame; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtineſs. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately conſidered the extent of his power, anſwered every propoſal that was made, in the following manner: *I will liſten to them*, ſaid he, *when you have taken the Tower of London ſword in hand.* This mode of expreſſion might diſguſt, but it was impoſing.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the court of France thought herſelf obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great Britain. Both courts were equally apprehenſive, and with good reaſon, that Mr. Pitt would oppoſe them. He conſented to enter into a negociation; but the event ſhewed, as ſenſible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His deſign was only to furniſh himſelf with ſufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon had entered into againſt Great Britain, that he might make them evident to his country. As ſoon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negociation, and propoſed declaring war againſt Spain. The ſuperiority of the naval power of England above that of both theſe kingdoms, and the aſſurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inſpired him with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's ſyſtem appeared, to diſtinguiſhed politicians, the only important, and indeed, the only reaſonable one. The Engliſh nation had contracted ſuch a load of debt, that it could neither free itſelf from it, nor ſupport it, without opening to itſelf new ſources of wealth. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great Britain had made her ſubmit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to diſable her oppreſſor from continuing them. The houſe of Bourbon could not but preſerve a ſtrong reſentment for the injuries it had ſuffered, and for the loſſes it had ſuſtained; it could not but make ſecret preparations, and gradually work up a ſpirit of revenge to which a combination

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combination of all it's forces might inſure ſucceſs. Theſe motives obliged Great Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandize itſelf for it's ſupport. This cruel neceſſity was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the council of George the Third as Mr. Pitt deſired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakneſs or of infatuation, perhaps of treachery; and he reſigned his poſt, becauſe he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

MAY we venture to form a conjecture? The Engliſh miniſtry plainly ſaw that there was no poſſibility of avoiding a freſh war; but equally tired out and diſgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had aſſumed, they were deſirous of reſtoring that ſpirit of equality which is the ſpring of a republican government. Deſpairing of being able to raiſe themſelves to a level with a man ſo highly eſteemed, or of making him ſtoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned againſt themſelves, they had recourſe to more artful methods. They attempted to ſour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to ſuch a ſnare, and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt reſigned his poſt through peeviſhneſs, he deſerves to be cenſured for not having ſuppreſſed or maſtered it. If he hoped by this expedient to humble his enemies, he ſhewed he had greater knowlege of affairs than of men. If, as he aſſerted, he reſigned, becauſe he would no longer be reſponſible for the meaſures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more ſtrongly attached to his

own perſonal glory, than to the intereſts of his country. But whatever may have been the cauſe of his reſignation, nothing but the blindeſt, moſt unjuſt, and moſt violent partiality can venture to aſſert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

However this may be, the firſt ſtep the new miniſtry took, was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain, and the Weſt Indies were to be the ſcene of theſe new hoſtilities. Experience had already diſcouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of ſenſe and underſtanding perceived that the taking of this iſland would not be attended with any apprehenſion of vengeance from the other colonies; that the empire of the Gulph of Mexico would be ſecured; that the enemy, whoſe riches aroſe principally from the amount of it's cuſtoms, would be deprived of all their reſources; that the whole commerce of the continent would be ſeized upon, and the inhabitants would chuſe rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up thoſe commodities they had been uſed to receive from Europe; in a word, that the power of Spain would be ſo much reduced by this conſiderable loſs, that it would be obliged to ſubmit to any terms.

Agreeable to this idea, a fleet, conſiſting of nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen frigates, and about

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about a hundred and fifty tranſports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North America, ſet ſail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determinced to paſs through the old ſtreight of Bahama, not ſo long in extent, though more dangerous, than the new one. The obſtacles that were to be expected in this paſſage little know'n, and too little attended to, were ſucceſsfully ſurmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his deſtination; and the landing of the troops was effected without any oppoſition, at the diſtance of ſix leagues eaſtward of thoſe dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

The operations by land, were not ſo well conducted as thoſe by ſea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commiſſion he was intruſted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The ſingle dry wall that covered it, could not have holden out four-and-twenty hours. It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who muſt infallibly have fallen into his hands by this ſucceſs, which might ſo eaſily have been obtained, would have reſolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would thus have prevented the fort from receiving any aſſiſtance or proviſions that were ſupplied from the city during the ſiege, and have ſecured the moſt likely means to reduce it in a very ſhort time.

The

THE plan he purſued, of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, expoſed him to great diſtreſſes. The water that was near him was unwholeſome, and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of procuring ſome at three leagues diſtance from his camp. As the ſloops that were ſent for this purpoſe might be attacked, it was thought neceſſary to poſt a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Aroſteguy, at a quarter of a league's diſtance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops, entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdraw'n, or ſupported but by ſea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

ALBEMARLE, who might have judged of the diſpoſition of the enemy from their not moleſting the troops poſted at Aroſteguy, ſhould have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this ſtep he would have been able almoſt to ſurround it; he would, moſt undoubtedly, have diſtreſſed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a leſs dangerous communication with Aroſteguy, than by the detachments he was conſtantly obliged to ſend, in order to ſupport this advanced body of troops.

THE ſiege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The ſoldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for ſacks of cotton, that were taken out of ſome merchant-ſhips arrived from Jamaica.

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This want of foreſight occaſioned the loſs of a great number of men, always of great value, but more eſpecially ſo in a climate, where diſeaſes and fatigues cauſe ſo great a conſumption of them.

The Engliſh general, having loſt the greateſt part of his army, and finding the neceſſity, for want of troops, of reimbarking in a few days, determined to attempt ſtorming the caſtle; but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was firſt to be paſſed; and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

If the faults of the Engliſh were very conſiderable, thoſe of the Spaniards were ſtill greater. Though apprized above a month before, that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not rouzed from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coaſts, and they had made no proviſions of balls of a proper ſize for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one ſingle gun, or even a firelock fit to make uſe of.

The great number of officers, of the land and ſea ſervice, who were at the Havannah, occaſioned, during ſome days of the ſiege, a great uncertainty in the reſolutions, that could not but be favourable to the beſiegers.

Three ſhips of war were ſunk, to ſtop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not paſs. The road into the harbour was by this means damaged, and three great ſhips loſt to no purpoſe.

The

THE moſt common prudence would have ſuggeſted, that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah ſhould have been got ready to ſail. They could not poſſibly be of any ſervice in defending the place, and it was a matter of ſome conſequence to ſave them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of ſetting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE deſtruction of the body of Engliſh troops poſted at Aroſteguy, where they could not receive any aſſiſtance, might have been eaſily effected. This check would have put the beſiegers to ſome difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inſpired the Spaniſh forces with ſome degree of confidence. But, far from making ſo eaſy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the Engliſh detachments, though compoſed entirely of infantry, and which might have been oppoſed by a regiment of dragoons, and a great number of militia, that were provided with horſes.

THE communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was ſcarce ever interrupted, and yet none of thoſe who had a ſhare in the adminiſtration, ever thought of conveying the royal treaſure into the inland parts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE laſt inſtance of neglect ſerved to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been

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left a piece of rock, terminating in a point, and ſtanding by itſelf. The Engliſh placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterſcarp. A ſerjeant, with fifteen men, paſſed over them at one in the afternoon; and concealed themſelves among ſome ſtones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers and ſome ſoldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the ſpace of an hour, they got upon the breach, under no apprehenſion of being diſcovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velaſco, indeed, informed of what had happened, haſtened to ſave the place; but he was killed in coming up, and his death putting the Spaniſh troops that followed him into confuſion, they ſurrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to obſerve the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, determined this great event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into, for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole iſland. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itſelf, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions * of ſilver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

Advantages procured to Great Britain in the iſlands by the peace.

THE loſs of Cuba, the center of the power of Spain in the New World, made peace as neceſſary to the court of Madrid, as it could poſſibly be to that of Verſailles, whoſe diſtreſſes were now

* 1,875,000l.

brought

brought to the higheſt pitch. The Engliſh miniſtry, at that time, conſented to a peace; but it ſeemed a matter of much difficulty to ſettle the conditions. The ſucceſſes of Great Britain had been aſtoniſhing in North and South America. But, however ambitious ſhe might be, ſhe could not flatter herſelf with the hopes of retaining all the conqueſts ſhe had made. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſhe would give up the poſſeſſions ſhe had gained in North America, as the advantages ſhe might expect from them were diſtant, inconſiderable, and uncertain; and that ſhe would be content with reſerving to herſelf the ſugar colonies ſhe had lately acquired, which the ſtate of her finances ſeemed more particularly to require. The increaſe of her cuſtoms, that was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem, would have procured her the beſt ſinking fund that could have been imagined, and which muſt have been ſo much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others very conſiderable. It would, in the firſt place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable, notwithſtanding the faults it had committed, of it's richeſt branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken it, from it's being under a neceſſity of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of it's ſituation, muſt be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected it's navy. Laſtly, it would have kept New England in a cloſer and more abſolute dependence on the mother-country,

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a part of America that would always want to be ſupported againſt a reſtleſs, active, and warlike neighbour.

But though the council of George III. ſhould have thought it neceſſary to reſtore to their enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reſerve the valuable iſlands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt ſo judicious a meaſure. In other countries the faults of the miniſters are imputed only to themſelves, or to their kings, who puniſh them for their miſconduct. In England, the errors of adminiſtration are generally the errors of the nation, who inſiſt upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

The Engliſh, who have complained of the terms of the laſt peace, when they have been ſhew'n how far ſhort they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however, in ſome meaſure, dictated thoſe very terms themſelves by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during the war. The Canadians had committed ſome outrages, and the ſavages many acts of cruelty in the Engliſh colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the diſtreſſes they ſuffered, and more ſo at thoſe they feared, had cauſed their clamours to be hear'd even in Europe. Their correſpondents, intereſted to obtain them a ſpeedy and powerful redreſs, had aggravated their complaints. Thoſe writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumſtance that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every ſpecies of invective. The people, exaſperated

rated by the report of the ſhocking ſcenes that were perpetually preſented to it's imagination, wiſhed to ſee a ſtop put to theſe barbarities.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies, ſatisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wiſhing the conqueſt of their neighbour's ſettlements, they rather dreaded it, conſidering it as deſtructive to themſelves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the Engliſh, that no competition could poſſibly have taken place. Their allies were of the ſame opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

The conſequence of ſo contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the ſugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. Let us repreſent to ourſelves the ſituation of an enlightened man, who is convinced of the advantages of a project, which he is compelled to give up, by the miſtaken notions of a deceived multitude, in order to adopt, in preference to it, ſome abſurd ſchemes contrary to the general good, which will diſhonour him if he ſhould purſue them, or, which will expoſe him to danger, if he ſhould refuſe: let us repreſent him to ourſelves, as employed by a ſovereign, who will diſmiſs him, if his rebellious ſubjects ſhould inſiſt upon it; and who cannot afford him any protection, if they ſhould carry their fury ſo far as to demand his life: let us view him divided, as he

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muſt be, between the miſtaken vanity which attaches him to his poſt, and the laudable pride which makes him careful to preſerve his reputation: let us behold him alone, retired in his cloſet, and deliberating upon the ſteps he ſhould take, amidſt the tumult and clamours of the populace, collected round his houſe, and threatening to ſet it on fire: for ſuch is the alternative, which hath been experienced, and will always be experienced by thoſe who guide the public affairs of a free country. There is ſcarce one ſingle ſituation in the world, in which a propriety of conduct is not attended with inconveniences on both ſides. It is the property of real courage to adapt itſelf to thoſe ſeveral circumſtances and ſituations, whatever may be the reſult; but ſuch kind of courage is not often to be met with.

The miniſtry, which, in England, can never ſupport it's authority againſt the people, or, at leaſt, cannot long maintain itſelf ſucceſsfully againſt it's general odium, turned all their views towards North America, and found France and Spain readily diſpoſed to adopt ſuch a ſyſtem. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the Engliſh all their former poſſeſſions, from the river St. Lawrence up to the Miſſiſſippi. Beſide this, France ceded the iſlands of Granada and Tobago, and conſented that the Engliſh ſhould keep the iſlands of St. Vincent and Dominica, that had been conſidered as neutral, provided that, on her part, ſhe might appropriate St. Lucia to herſelf. On theſe conditions, the conquerors reſtored to the allied powers all the conqueſts they had made in America.

From

The British miniſtry did not extend their views as far as the ſituation of things permitted.

From this time England loſt the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of ſeizing all the avenues and making itſelf maſter of the ſources of all the wealth of the New World. Mexico was in it's power, as the Engliſh only were in poſſeſſion of the gulph that opens the way to it; this valuable continent muſt, therefore, ſoon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by the offers of an eaſier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been invited to ſhake off the yoke of the mother-country, which only took up arms to diſtreſs it's colonies, and not to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enſlaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the Engliſh, more free and more equitable than other monarchial powers, could not but be benefited by reſcuing the human race from the oppreſſions they ſuffered in the New World, and by removing the injuries this oppreſſion hath brought on Europe in particular.

All thoſe ſubjects, who are victims of the ſeverity, exactions, oppreſſion, and deceit of arbitrary governments; all thoſe families that are ruined by the raiſing of ſoldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, inſtead of obeying and becoming ſubject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in thoſe countries. Theſe, as well as a multitude of workmen without employment; of huſbandmen

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husbandmen without land; of men of science without any occupation; and numbers of distressed and unfortunate persons, would have flow'n into these regions, which require only just and civilized inhabitants to render them happy. Above all, the peasants of the north, slaves to the nobility, who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there: those Russian peasants, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, instead of cultivating and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been lost in these transmigrations through extensive seas, into new climates; but this would have been an infinitely less evil than that of a tyranny, working by slow and artful means, and sacrificing so many people to the wills of a small number of men. In a word, the English would have been much more gloriously employed in supporting and favouring so happy a revolution, than in tormenting themselves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and destroy.

This is a wish which, though founded on justice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itself, as it leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that formed it. Must then the desires of the virtuous man for the prosperity of the world be for ever lost, while those of the ambitious and the extravagant are so often favoured by casual events?

Since war hath been the cause of so much evil, why does it not run through every species of calamity,

lamity, that it may, at length, tend to procure ſome good? But what hath been the conſequence of the laſt war, one of thoſe that hath been the moſt diſtreſsful to the human race? It hath occaſioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and hath coſt Europe alone above a million of it's inhabitants. Thoſe who were not it's victims, are now diſtreſſed by it, and their poſterity will long be oppreſſed under the weight of the enormous taxes it hath given riſe to. The nation, whom victory attended in all parts, was ruined by it's triumphs. It's public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres *, aroſe, at the concluſion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres †, for which it muſt pay an intereſt of 111,577,490 livres ‡.

But it is time to quit the ſubject of war. Let us now proceed to conſider by what means the nations, who have divided the great Archipelago of America, that hath been the origin of ſo many quarrels and negociations, and hath given riſe to ſo many reflections, have been able to raiſe it to a degree of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be conſidered as the firſt cauſe of all the great events that at preſent diſturb the peace of the globe.

* 67,378,627 l. 10 s. † 138,750,000 l.
‡ 4,649,062 l. 1 s. 8 d.

BOOK XI.

The Europeans go into Africa to purchaſe ſlaves to cultivate the Caribbee Iſlands. The manner of conducting this ſpecies of commerce. Produce ariſing from the labour of the ſlaves.

BOOK XI.

The Europeans ſettled in the American Iſlands, procure cultivators from Africa.

WE have ſeen immenſe countries invaded and laid waſte; their innocent and peaceable inhabitants either maſſacred or loaded with chains; a dreadful ſolitude eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of a numerous population; ferocious uſurpers deſtroying one another, and heaping their dead bodies upon thoſe of their victims. What is to be the reſult of ſo many enormities? They will ſtill be repeated, and they will be followed by one, which, though it may not produce ſo much bloodſhed, will nevertheleſs be more ſhocking to humanity: this is the traffic of man, ſold and purchaſed by his fellow-creature. The iſlands of America have firſt ſuggeſted the idea of this abominable trade, and we ſhall now ſee in what manner this misfortune hath been brought about.

CERTAIN reſtleſs fugitives, the greateſt part of whom had either been diſgraced by the laws of their country, or ruined by their exceſſes; in this ſtate of deſperation, formed a deſign of attacking

AFRICA
with the
European Settlements &c.
By Thos Kitchin Senr
Hydrographer to his Majesty
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ANATOLIA
Str of Gibralter
Madera Is
Porto Santo I.
CANARY Isles
Tenerif
Palma
Gomera
Ferro
Palmas
C Bajador
Sus or Tarodant
Mogador
Segulmesse
Tafilet
DESERT of BARBARY or TERGA
SAHARA
Tropic of Cancer
SANHAGA
Cdas Barbas
C Blanco
Arguin G.
CAPE VERD
St Anthony
Luca
Senegal R.
Cayor
SENEGA
St Jago
Brava
Bonavista
Cape Verd
Goree
Gambia R.
St James
ISLES
Bissao
IR Casamansa
Bank of Bissagos
Portuguese F.
C Verga
Sierra Leona
Grain Coast
C Ledo or Tagrin
Sierd Leona R.
C Monte
Sangrain
C Palmas
Equinoctial Line
Tombut
Silla
Niger River
NEGROLAND
Timbi
GAGO
Gago
Gabi
Yauri
Jinjiro
FULIS
MANDINGA
Bamboulc
Bamboc
Sahal
Galam
Bambuk
Bambarra R.
Senegal R.
Faleme R.
Gambia R.
Bissao
Sierra Leona
GUINEA
Gold Coast
Ivory Coast
Slave Coast
BENIN
Benin
Widah
Benin R.
Old Calbary
New Calbary
Formosa R.
Camarons R.
Camarons
Fernando Po
Princes I.
St Thomas I.
Annobon I.
GULF of GUINEA
Three Points
Cape Apollonia
Axim
Commendo
Fredericksburg
Accada
Tantumquery
Anamabo
Cape Coast Castle
Sestos
Cape Mesurado
Cape Mount
Rio Gabon
St John
Rio Nunez
Rio Grande
Rio Pongo
Rio Dembia
Rio Cassini
Rio Cammarancas

tacking Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſhips that were richly laden with the ſpoils of the New World. Some deſert iſlands, whoſe ſituation inſured ſucceſs to theſe piracies, ſerved at firſt for a place of rendezvous to theſe robbers, and ſoon became their country. Habituated to murder, they meditated the maſſacre of a plain and unſuſpecting people, who had received and treated them with humanity; and the civilized nations, of which theſe free-booters were the refuſe, adopted this infamous ſcheme without heſitation; which was immediately put in execution. It then became neceſſary to conſider what advantages might accrue from ſo many enormities. Gold and ſilver, which were ſtill looked upon as the ſole valuable productions to be derived from America, had either never exiſted in ſeveral of theſe new acquiſitions, or were no longer to be found there, in ſufficient quantities to expect any conſiderable emoluments from working the mines. Certain ſpeculative men, leſs blinded by their prejudices than the multitude generally are, imagined, that a ſoil and climate, ſo totally different from our's, might either furniſh us with commodities to which we were ſtrangers, or which we were obliged to purchaſe at an exorbitant price: they therefore determined to apply themſelves to the culture of them. There were ſome obſtacles, apparently inſurmountable to the execution of this plan. The ancient inhabitants of the country were now entirely deſtroyed; and had they not been ſo, the weakneſs of their conſtitutions, their habit of eaſe and indolence, and their invincible averſion for labour, would ſcarce have rendered them fit

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inſtruments to execute the deſigns of their oppreſſors. Theſe barbarians too, born in a temperate clime, could not ſupport the laborious works of agriculture under a burning and unwholeſome ſky. Self-intereſt, ever fruitful in expedients, ſuggeſted the plan of ſeeking cultivators in Africa, a country in which the abominable and inhuman cuſtom of ſelling it's inhabitants hath ever prevailed.

AFRICA is an immenſe region, connected to Aſia only by a narrow neck of land of twenty leagues, called the Iſthmus of Suez. This natural and political boundary muſt ſooner or later be broken down by the ocean, from that tendency it is obſerved to have of forming gulphs and ſtraits eaſtward. This peninſula, cut by the equator into two unequal parts, forms an irregular triangle, one of the ſides of which fronts the eaſt, the other the north, and the third the weſt.

Opinions concerning the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

THE eaſtern ſide, which extends from Suez nearly as far as the Cape of Good Hope, is waſhed by the Red Sea and the ocean. The inland parts of the country are but little know'n, and what has been diſcovered of them, can neither excite the mercenary views of the trader, the curioſity of the traveller, nor the humanity of the philoſopher. Even the miſſionaries, after having made ſome progreſs in theſe countries, eſpecially in Abyſſinia, totally diſcouraged by the treatment they met with, have abandoned theſe people to their inconſtancy and perfidy. The coaſts are in general only dreadful rocks, or a waſte of dry and burning ſand. Thoſe portions, which are fit for cultivation, are parcelled

celled out among the natives of the country, the Arabs, the Portugueze, and the Dutch. Their commerce, which conſiſts only in a little ivory or gold, and ſome ſlaves, is connected with that of the Eaſt Indies.

THE northern ſide, which extends from the Iſthmus of Suez to the Straits of Gibraltar, is bounded by the Mediterranean. On this ſide, nine hundred leagues of coaſt are occupied by a country, which hath for ſeveral centuries been know'n by the name of Barbary; and by Egypt, which is under the yoke of the Ottoman empire.

Opinions concerning the northern coaſt of Africa, and of Egypt in particular.

THIS great province is bounded by the Red Sea on the Eaſt, by Nubia on the South, by the deſarts of Barca, or by Lybia on the Weſt, and on the North by the Mediterranean. It is about two hundred and twelve leagues long from North to South. A break of rocks, and a chain of mountains, running almoſt in the ſame direction, prevent it from being more than ſix or ſeven leagues broad as far as Cairo. From that capital to the ſea the country deſcribes a triangle, the baſis of which is one hundred leagues. This triangle includes another, know'n by the name of Delta, and formed by two branches of the Nile, which empty themſelves into the Mediterranean, one of them at the diſtance of a league from Roſetto, and the other of two from Damietta.

ALTHOUGH this be a burning region, yet the climate is in general healthy; the only infirmity peculiar to Egypt, is the too frequent loſs of ſight. This calamity is thought to be occaſioned by a fine kind of ſand, which is ſcattered about in

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in May and June, by the South winds. Would it not be more reaſonable to attribute it to the cuſtom thoſe people have of ſleeping in the open air nine months in the year? This opinion will be readily admitted, ſince it is obſerved, that thoſe who paſs the night in their houſes, or under tents, ſeldom experience ſo great a misfortune.

THERE are few countries on the face of the globe ſo fruitful as Egypt. The ſoil yields annually three crops, which require but one tillage. Vegetables ſucceed corn, and theſe are followed by pot-herbs; this happy fertility is owen to the Nile.

THAT river, the ſource of which is in Ethiopia, owes it's encreaſe to clouds, which falling down in rain, occaſion it's periodical ſwell. It begins in the month of June, and augments till the end of September, at which time it gradually decreaſes. It's waters, after having traverſed an immenſe ſpace without dividing, are ſeparated five leagues above Cairo into two branches, which meet no more.

A COUNTRY, however, where nothing is ſo ſeldom met with as a ſpring, and where rain is an extraordinary phænomenon, could only have been fertilized by the Nile. Accordingly, from times of the moſt remote antiquity, fourſcore conſiderable canals were digged at the entrance of the kingdom, beſide a great number of ſmall ones, which diſtributed theſe waters all over Egypt. Except five or ſix of the deepeſt, they are all dry at the beginning, or towards the middle of winter; but then the ſoil no longer requires watering.

watering. If it ſhould happen, that the river hath not ſwelled to the height of four hundred inches, the lower grounds are only watered. The others, to which their wells, conſtructed with ſwing-gates, or with wheels become uſeleſs, are conſidered as barren, and freed for that year of all impoſts.

The grounds are divided into three claſſes. That which is conſidered as the firſt of them, is the one which forms the Vakoups, or domain allotted to the Moſques, or other religious eſtabliſhments. It is the worſt cultivated of any of the grounds, and that which is more ſpared in the taxes by an ignorant and ſuperſtitious government.

The principal civil and military officers of the ſtate enjoy the profits of the ſecond claſs. They leave very little to the bondſmen, who till the grounds with the ſweat of their brows; and they ſeldom pay into the treaſury the taxes they are indebted to it.

The third claſs is divided between a great number of plain citizens, whoſe poſſeſſions, more or leſs extenſive, are cultivated by active and intelligent farmers. Theſe grounds compoſe the wealth of Egypt, and become the reſource of the public treaſury.

Though one third of the grounds be left untilled, yet the country is not depopulated. It is reckoned to contain five or ſix millions of inhabitants, the moſt numerous of which are the Cophts, who derive their origin from the antient Egyptians, to whom they have no ſmall ſhare of reſemblance. Some of them have ſubmitted to the

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yoke of the Koran, the reſt have remained ſubject to the goſpel. They occupy, almoſt excluſively, all the Upper Egypt, and are very numerous in the Lower; ſeveral of them are cultivators, but more of them profeſs the arts. The moſt intelligent among them ſuperintend the affairs of rich families, or ſerve as ſecretaries to men in office. When they have obtained theſe poſts, which are deemed honourable, they ſoon acquire an abſolute ſway over maſters, enervated by the climate, and by luxury. This kind of power ſoon leads them to the poſſeſſion of wealth, which they generally ſquander in the moſt infamous exceſſes. If motives of avarice ſhould have made them abſtain from the purſuit of pleaſure, they are deprived of their riches before the cloſe of a turbulent life, by the tyrants whom they had deceived. Children are ſcarce ever know'n to inherit the fortune of their fathers.

The moſt numerous race after the Cophts, is that of the Arabs. Theſe deſcendants of a people, who were formerly a conquering nation, all live in a ſtate of the utmoſt ignominy. In this abject condition, their actions are never animated with ſpirit, and they have never been know'n to take any part in the revolutions with which this country is ſo frequently agitated. Their maſters conſider them only in the light of animals that are neceſſary for cultivation. Their lives and their fortunes are arbitrarily diſpoſed of, while theſe acts of injuſtice and cruelty, have never brought down the vengeance of government upon the offenders. Theſe unfortunate people have a particular dreſs,

they

they dwell in the fields, intermarry with one another, and ſcarce live upon any thing but vegetables and milk. If there be any among them who are able to indulge in a few conveniencies, they would not dare to do it, from the apprehenſion of expoſing themſelves to the riſk of being taken notice of, which might, ſooner or later, become fatal to them.

The remainder of the population is compoſed of Turks, Jews, and Armenians, and of men of divers countries and ſects, who have ſucceſſively ſettled in Egypt. Theſe foreigners, whatever be the reaſon of it, ſeldom leave a numerous poſterity, and their deſcendants are not more fortunate. This humiliating ſterility, however, is chiefly obſerved among the Mamelucs.

In vain have theſe Circaſſians, or Georgians, been choſen in their youth from among the moſt healthy men in their provinces. In vain have the moſt beautiful wives of their country been beſtowed upon them. In vain have they been all kept in a ſtate of plenty, freed from the apprehenſions of want, and from every anxiety. Scarce any children iſſue from theſe well-adapted connections, and the few that are born die within the year. Only two families are know'n to be the deſcendants of this race, and they have yet reached no further than to the ſecond generation.

The government of Egypt differs from every other. Before the invaſion of the Turks, this region was under the ſway of a chief, who was choſen by ſoldiers, all born in ſlavery, and who ſhared his authority with him. Selim would undoubtedly

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doubtedly have been deſirous to ſubmit this new conqueſt to the ſame deſpotiſm as his other provinces; but circumſtances were not favourable to this ambitious deſign. He was obliged to content himſelf with the rights of the dethroned Soldan, and to leave his haughty lieutenants in poſſeſſion of the prerogatives they had for ſo long a time enjoyed. The Sultan ſent into Egypt fourteen thouſand of his beſt troops, in order to counterbalance this formidable militia. Far from attending to the intereſts of the Port, this corps employed themſelves only about their own. They ſoon acquired ſufficient influence to have every thing determined by their caprice; and they maintained the aſcendant they had gained, 'till growing effeminate by the climate, they were no longer able to maintain a power which was not fixed on any kind of baſis. It paſſed again into the hands of the Mamelucs, and that in a more extenſive manner than ever.

This ſingular dynaſty is compoſed of ten or twelve thouſand ſlaves, brought from Georgia and Circaſſia when they were very young. They enter into the ſervice of the great men of their nation, who have, like them, been all in a ſtate of ſlavery, and who, ſooner or later, give them their freedom. Theſe freedmen are obſerved to riſe from one poſt to another, 'till they attain to the rank of Bey, which is the higheſt of all.

These Beys govern the twenty-four provinces of the kingdom. Their number ſeldom exceeds ſixteen or ſeventeen, becauſe the moſt reſolute among them are in poſſeſſion of more than one government,

government, and becauſe ſome feeble diſtricts of Upper Egypt have been intruſted to Arabian Cheiks from time immemorial. Although they ought all to be of equal rank, the Bey who governs the capital moſt commonly aſſumes an authority over the reſt, unleſs he be ſupplanted by ſome one of his colleagues, richer, more powerful, or more artful than himſelf. But whether the equilibrium be maintained or not, the free Turks never obtain any but civil or eccleſiaſtical employments. The military dignities, the offices of government, and all the higheſt honours, are deſtined only for thoſe who have lived in ſervitude. The Divan, which is compoſed of the Beys and of their creatures, is the real ſovereign. The Pacha, who repreſents the Sultan, receives homage, and orders are even given in his name; but they are dictated to him by inſolent ſlaves. If he ſhould refuſe to do what is required of him, he is depoſed, and leads a retired life, 'till the ſeraglio hath either ſentenced him to death, or recalled him.

The Mamelucs conſtitute the real force of Egypt. As they are all born in either a rough or a temperate climate, and as they have received an auſtere education, they form different troops of cavalry, which are divided among the Beys, in proportion to the degree of influence, or the ambition of thoſe chiefs, and the greater or leſs eſtimation they are holden in. Theſe powerful men diſpoſe of the Turkiſh infantry in a manner almoſt as abſolute. This infantry is effeminate, and hath entirely loſt it's military ſpirit. It is

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ſcarce compoſed of any but peaceable tradeſmen, who cauſe their names to be regiſtered, in order to enjoy the prerogatives attached to the name of a ſoldier. But whatever it may be, it's officers are entirely dependent upon the Beys, without whoſe protection they would not be able to obtain promotion.

Beside the contributions in kind, which are ſent as an offering from the Grand Signior to Mecca and Medina, which he cauſes to be diſtributed among the troops, ſeveral impoſts are raiſed in coin. The lands pay a tribute, and the Chriſtians a poll-tax. The monopoly of caſſia, ſenna, and ſal-ammoniac, is ſold very dear. The cuſtoms produce a great deal. Theſe objects united amount at leaſt to ten millions of livres *, of which there is ſeldom more than a fourth part conveyed to Conſtantinople. The chief Bey retains the remainder, or divides it with colleagues, if he be not able to keep it all.

The intereſt of the Pacha is not more attended to than that of the Sultan. Even the militia ſeldom receive their entire pay; and citizens of all ranks are habitually plundered.

Such numerous vexations could not have been ſupported, had it not been for the reſources derived from a very advantageous foreign trade, to which ſeveral ports are laid open. There are two in Alexandria, which formerly, it is ſaid, communicated with each other, and are at preſent ſeparated by a very narrow ſlip of land. The

* 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

Eaſtern,

Eaſtern, or New Port, is of eaſier acceſs than the other; but it is almoſt filled up by the ballaſt of the ſhips, which it is cuſtomary to fling into it. It is not a century ſince the veſſels were faſtened to the key; but they are now at the diſtance of more than two hundred toiſes from it. The ſpace which they can occupy is ſo narrow, that it is neceſſary to fix them with ſeveral anchors, to prevent their ſhocking each other; and even this precaution is not always ſufficient. It happens very often in ſtormy weather, that theſe veſſels run foul of thoſe that are near them, and drag them along with them into flats, where they are miſerably foundered together.

The Weſtern, or Old Harbour, is large and commodious. Men of war and merchantmen are equally ſecure in it; but the Europeans are excluded from it. Jealouſy hath induced the Turkiſh navigators to invent a prophecy, which announces, that the city will fall into the hands of the Chriſtians, whenever their ſhips are admitted into that fine harbour.

Bequees is four leagues diſtant from this place. It carries on no trade; and is never frequented except when the winds prevent the ſhips from getting to Alexandria, or from entering the Nile. It's harbour is very ſmall, but exceedingly good; men of war would be ſheltered from all danger there, even in winter.

The merchandizes which are carried down the river upon boats, that are called *macks*, and brought up again as far as the laſt cataract, or the ſouthern extremity of Egypt, are landed at

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Rozetto, one league distant from the western mouth of the Nile. The provisions are conveyed from the town itself to the ships, which are at no great distance, upon larger boats, know'n in that country by the name of *germes*.

A SIMILAR staple, but infinitely more considerable, hath been formed near the eastern mouth of the river, at Damietta. This, perhaps, was formerly a harbour; but at present the vessels are obliged to anchor in the open sea, at two leagues from the coast, upon a good bottom. If they are driven from thence by stormy weather, which is rather frequent in these latitudes in winter, they take refuge in the harbours of Cyprus, from whence they return to their post when the danger is over.

SEVEN or eight hundred Turkish, Barbary, or Christian Ships, or such as belong to the Christians, which trade for these people, arrive annually in Egypt. One hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty of them, come from Syria, seventy or fourscore from Constantinople, fifty or sixty from Smyrna, thirty or forty from Salonica, twenty-five or thirty from Candia, and all the rest from some islands, or from some parts of the continent, which are less opulent, and less fruitful. Their cargoes are valued, one with another, at 30,000 livres *. If we suppose that there are seven hundred and fifty vessels, the country consumes to the amount of 22,500,000 livres †, of the productions brought by these traders. But it

* 1,250l. † 937,500l.

delivers

delivers above double that ſum, in rice, coffee, flax, cloths, corn, vegetables, and in other articles. It muſt therefore receive 22,500,000 livres * in money.

THE connections of the Europeans with Egypt are not ſo lucrative. The people among them by whom they are carried on, ſell woollen cloths, gildings, ſilk ſtuffs, iron, lead, tin, paper, cochineal, hard-ware, and glaſs; and receive in exchange, rice, coffee, ſaffron, ivory, gums, cotton, ſenna, caſſia, ſpun thread, and ſal-ammoniac.

IN 1776, the importations of the Venetians were reduced to 755,035 livres †, and their exports to 820,062 livres ‡. The importations of the Tuſcans and the Engliſh, who trade to Leghorn, did not exceed 2,143,660 livres ‖, nor their exports 2,099,635 livres §. The importations of the French did not exceed 3,997,615 livres ¶, nor their exports 3,075,450 livres **. The total importation did not therefore amount to more than 6,896,310 livres ††, and the exportation to more than 5,995,147 livres ‡‡.

ALL the merchandize either bought or ſold by the Europeans pay a duty of three per cent. This tax amounts to ſix per cent. for coffee, and to ten per cent. for rice, the exportation of which is prohibited. This impoſition is for the profit of

* 937,500 l.
† 31,459 l. 15 s. 10 d.
‡ 34,169 l. 5 s.
‖ 89,319 l. 3s. 4 d.
§ 87,484 l. 15 s.
¶ 166,567 l. 5 s. 10 d.
** 128,143 l. 15 s.
†† 287,346 l. 5 s.
‡‡ 249,797 l. 16 s. 10 d.

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two ſhips ſent every year from the Dardanelles to guard the coaſts of Egypt from the depredations of the pirates, and which are of no other uſe but to oppreſs the traders, and to encourage ſmuggling.

EUROPE employs one hundred veſſels in this trade; but only fifty or ſixty of them return immediately to the ports from whence they were diſpatched. The others enter into the ſervice of any people who chooſe to employ them in the Levant.

SUMMER is the moſt favourable ſeaſon for failing from Europe to Egypt; the voyages are ſhortened by the weſt or north winds which blow almoſt continually at that time. Spring and autumn are the moſt proper ſeaſons for returning. The navigation is very dangerous during winter upon theſe coaſts, which are ſo low, that land is not diſcovered at two leagues diſtance, if the day be in the leaſt dark, or the ſky cloudy.

IF Egypt ſhould ever emerge from the ſtate of anarchy in which it is plunged; if an independent government ſhould be formed there; and if the new conſtitution ſhould be founded upon wiſe laws, that region will again become what it formerly was, one of the moſt induſtrious and fertile countries of the earth. It would be abſurd to foretel the ſame proſperity to Lybia, which is inhabited at preſent by the people of Barbary.

Revolutions in Lybia.

THE early periods of this extenſive country are involved in the greateſt obſcurity; nor was any light throw'n upon their hiſtory till the arrival of the Carthaginians. Theſe merchants, originally of

of Phœnician extraction, about a hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the foundation of Rome, built a city, the territory of which, at firſt very limited, in proceſs of time extended to all that country, know'n by the name of the kingdom of Tunis, and afterwards much further. Spain, and the greateſt part of the iſlands in the Mediterranean, fell under it's dominion. Many other kingdoms muſt apparently have ſerved to aggrandize this enormous power, when her ambitious views interfered with thoſe of Rome. At the time of this dreadful colliſion, a war between theſe two nations was inſtantly kindled, and carried on with ſuch obſtinacy and fury, that it was eaſy to foreſee it would not terminate, but in the utter deſtruction of the one or the other. Rome, which was now in the height of it's republican and patriotic principles, after many ſtubborn engagements, in which the greateſt military ſkill was diſplayed, obtained a deciſive ſuperiority over that which was corrupted by it's riches. The commercial people became the ſlaves of the warlike power.

The conquerors maintained themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, till about the middle of the Vth century. The Vandals, then hurried on by their original impetuoſity beyond the limits of Spain, of which they were maſters, paſſed the pillars of Hercules, and, like an inundation, diffuſed themſelves over the country of Lybia. Theſe conquerors would certainly have preſerved the advantages they had acquired by their irruptions, had they kept up that military ſpirit which their

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king Genſeric had inſpired them with. But with this barbarian, who was not deſtitute of genius, this ſpirit became extinct; military diſcipline was relaxed, and the government, which reſted only on this baſis, was overthrow'n. Beliſarius ſurpriſed theſe people in this confuſion, extirpated them, and re-eſtabliſhed the empire in it's ancient privileges. But this revolution was only momentary. Great men, who can form and bring to maturity a riſing nation, cannot impart youth and vigour to an ancient and decayed people.

THIS is accounted for from a variety of reaſons, all of them equally ſtriking. The founder of an empire addreſſes himſelf to an inexperienced man, who is ſenſible of his misfortune, and diſpoſed, by the continuance of it, to docility. He hath only to diſplay the appearance of, and the character of benevolence, to be attended to, obeyed, and cheriſhed. Daily experience adds to the perſonal confidence he inſpires, and gives influence to his counſel. The ſuperiority of his judgment is ſoon neceſſarily acknowleged. His precepts of virtue muſt ever acquire a greater degree of force, in proportion to the ſimplicity of his diſciple. It is not difficult for him to depreciate vice, of which the guilty perſon is the firſt victim. He attacks openly ſuch prejudices only as he expects to eradicate. He truſts to time for the ſubverſion of the reſt; and the ſucceſs of his projects is inſured by the impoſſibility of diſcovering their tendency. His policy ſuggeſts to his imagination a variety of meaſures, calculated to excite aſtoniſhment, and to procure him veneration.

He

He then gives his orders, and his commands are occaſionally ſanctified by the authority of Heaven. He is high-prieſt and legiſlator, during his life, and at his death altars are erected to him; he is invoked; he is a god: the ſituation of the reſtorer of a corrupted nation is very different. He is an architect, who propoſes to build upon a ſpace covered with ruins; he is a phyſician, who attempts to cure a mortified carcaſe; he is a wiſe man, who preaches reformation to a hardened people. He can expect nothing but hatred and perſecution, from the preſent, and will not live to ſee the future generation. He will reap few advantages, with a great deal of labour, during his life, and will obtain nothing but fruitleſs regret after his death. A nation is only regenerated in a ſea of blood. It is the image of old Eſon, whoſe youth Medea could renew by no other mode, except that of cutting him to pieces and boiling him. It is not in the power of one man to raiſe a fallen nation. It appears that this muſt be the reſult of a long ſeries of revolutions. The man of genius doth not live long enough, and leaves no ſucceſſors.

In the VIIth century, the Saracens, formidable in their inſtitutions and their ſucceſs, armed with the ſword and with the Koran, obliged the Romans, weakened by their diviſions, to repaſs the ſeas, and augmented with the acceſſion of the northern part of Africa, that vaſt dominion Mohammed had juſt founded with ſo much glory. The lieutenants of the Caliphs afterwards deprived their maſters of theſe rich ſpoils, and

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erected the provinces, intrusted to their care, into independent states.

This division, with respect to strength and power, inspired the Turks with the ambition of making themselves masters of this territory. Their success was perhaps more rapid than they had expected; but a new revolution soon reduced these considerable conquests to very trifling advantages.

The Pachas, or Viceroys, intrusted with the care of the conquered countries, carried along with them that spirit of rapine, of which their nation had left such indelible traces. They were not the people alone who were exposed to perpetual pillage; the oppression was also extended to the troops, although they were all Ottoman. These soldiers, who were more inclined to commit acts of injustice than to put up with them, represented to the Port, that the Moors, and Arabs, irritated by repeated acts of tyranny, were ripe for a rebellion; that Spain, on her part, was preparing for an immediate invasion; and that the army, being incomplete, and ill payed, had it neither in their inclination nor in their power to prevent these troublesome events. There was but one effectual method discovered to escape so many calamities: this was the founding of a particular government, which, under the protection of the seraglio, and paying a tribute to it, would itself provide for it's maintenance, and for it's defence. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, were put under a similar legislation, which is a species of aristocracy. The chief, who, under

under the title of Dey, governs the republic, is elected by the ſoldiers, who are always Turkiſh, and conſtitute the only nobility of the country. Theſe elections are ſeldom made without bloodſhed; and it is no unuſual thing for a man, who hath been elected in the midſt of riot and ſlaughter, to be afterwards aſſaſſinated by a reſtleſs faction, who deſign either to ſecure that diſtinction for themſelves, or to ſell it for their advancement. The empire of Morocco, though hereditary, is ſubjected to the ſame revolutions. We are going to ſee to what ſtate of degradation this anarchy hath reduced a great part of the globe.

Preſent condition of Tripoli.

THE ſtate of Tripoli is bounded by Egypt on one ſide, and by Tunis on the other, and extends two hundred and thirty leagues along the coaſt. Though the territory be not very fertile, yet the population might be eaſily increaſed ten fold, becauſe the abundance of fiſh might ſupply the deficiency of crops, and theſe might alſo be improved by additional labour. The inland part of the country is nothing but a deſert. We meet only, at a diſtance from each other, ſome Mooriſh and Arabian families, ſettled in the few places where they diſcovered land enough to furniſh them with a moderate ſubſiſtence. At thirty days journey from the capital, is ſituated the miſerable and tributary kingdom of Fez, the inhabitants of which are black. The little intercourſe the countries maintain with each other, can only be kept up through dry and moveable ſands, where water is ſeldom to be met with. The republic

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public may enjoy a revenue of 2,000,000 livres *; from the palm-trees, the wells that are in the country, the cuſtoms, and the mint.

THE caravans of the Gadamies, and of Tombuto, formerly carried a great deal of gold to Tripoli; but they have not lately been ſo rich, or ſo conſtant. The caravan of Morocco ſtill continues to call there, in it's way to and from Mecca, that place which is ſo much revered by the Muſſulmen; but, as the number of pilgrims hath evidently decreaſed, this paſſage is no longer ſo uſeful. For theſe reaſons, the trade, which is carried on by land, is reduced to nothing, or to very little.

THAT which is carried on by ſea, is rather more conſiderable. The navigators of the Levant, ſometimes, take in their cargoes from ſome of the indifferent harbours ſcattered along that immenſe coaſt, but moſt of them make their purchaſes and ſales in the harbour of the capital, which is much better than the reſt, and in which are collected all the foreign merchandize, as well as thoſe of the country. Although theſe operations be not very important, yet, the connections of the republic with Europe are ſtill more inſignificant.

No people, except the Tuſcans and Venetians, maintain any conſtant intercourſe with Tripoli; and yet the mercantile articles of the former, are not ſold for more than 140,000 livres †, and thoſe

* 83,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 5,833 l. 6 s. 8 d.

of

of the latter, do not amount to 200,000 livres *. The former have remained ſubject to all the formalities of the cuſtoms; the ſecond have freed themſelves from them, by paying annually 55,500 livres † to the treaſury. The French have diſdained to have any ſhare in this bargain, though their ſovereign hath not diſcontinued to ſend an agent to Tripoli.

Of all the Barbary ſtates, Tripoli was for a long time the one which had the moſt numerous, and the beſt armed privateers. They always ſailed from the capital, which bears the ſame name as the kingdom.

This town, which hath long been ſuſpected of being the ancient Orea, on account of it's magnificent ruins, and of a beautiful aqueduct in great preſervation, and which muſt at leaſt have been a Greek or Roman colony, is ſituated on the borders of the ſea, in a plain which only produces dates, and where neither ſprings nor rivers are to be found. It was one of the firſt poſts occupied by the Arabians, who entered into Lybia through Egypt. The Spaniards took it in 1510, and eighteen years after, it was given by the Emperor Charles V. to the Knights of Malta, in whoſe hands it remained only 'till the year 1551. It hath ſince been twice bombarded by the French; but the boldneſs of theſe pirates hath not been in the leaſt reſtrained by theſe chaſtiſements. The decline, and ſubſequent ruin of it's maritime forces, have been entirely

* 8,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 2,312 l. 10 s.

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brought about by the civil commotions by which this unfortunate country hath been inceſſantly ſubverted.

Preſent ſituation of Tunis.

Tunis hath likewiſe neglected it's military navy, ſince the time that the regency hath concluded treaties with the northern powers, and ſince Corſica hath fallen under the dominion of the French. It was found that the value of the prizes was hardly ſufficient to reimburſe the expences of fitting out, and ſcarce any other veſſels have been preſerved, except ſuch as were thought neceſſary to protect the coaſts from the invaſions of the Malteſe.

The land forces have experienced no diminution. Five or ſix thouſand Turks, or Chriſtian renegadoes, conſtitute the firmeſt ſupport of the republic.

Their children, under the name of Couloris, form a ſecond troop; they are put upon pay as ſoon as they are born, and the firſt payment they receive is two aſpres, or one ſol *. This increaſes with their age, and with their rank, as far as twenty-nine aſpres, or fourteen ſols ſix deniers †; and it is reduced to half that ſum, when theſe ſoldiers are obliged by their infirmities, or by the wounds they have received, to retire.

The cavalry of the ſtate conſiſts of ſeven thouſand Moors; their pay is very trifling, and, moſt frequently, given to them in proviſions. Their

* About a halfpenny.

† Rather more than 11 s. 8 d.

moſt

moſt common occupation is to collect the duties impoſed upon the Arabs.

These troops are all armed with firelocks without bayonets, and with two piſtols at their girdle. Beſide theſe, the Turks have a dagger, and the Moors a ſtiletto. In all of them, courage and impetuoſity muſt both ſupply the deficiency of regular manœuvres and diſcipline.

No country in the northern part of Africa hath ſo conſiderable a revenue as Tunis. It conſiſts of 18,000,000 of livres. * This proſperity, which is entirely of a very modern date, hath been the conſequence of a very fortunate revolution in the government. The Dey, who, in conjunction with his Turks, held the reins of government, hath been deprived of the greateſt part of his authority, and hath been ſucceeded by a Mooriſh prince, who, under the title of Bey, at preſent conducts the affairs of government, and is aſſiſted by a more wiſe and more moderate council. Oppreſſions have, in ſome degree, been alleviated; the ſoil hath been leſs ill-cultivated, and the manufactures have acquired ſome extenſion. It was ſcarce poſſible that the connections with the inland parts of Africa could increaſe; they will always be confined to the barter of a ſmall number of articles, for gold duſt, conveyed acroſs immenſe ſands and deſerts: but the maritime connections have been extended. The Levant hath received a greater quantity of pro-

* 750,000 l.

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ductions, and the trade with Europe hath likewiſe improved.

THOUGH England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Venice, Raguſa, and ſometimes Tuſcany, ſend conſuls to Tunis, the trade carried on with thoſe nations is very trifling; and, indeed, the Engliſh have no concern in it. They only keep an agent there for the greater ſecurity of their flag in the Mediterranean, and to procure an additional mart to the inhabitants of Minorca. The French carry off the greateſt part of the trade from their united rivals; and yet they do not introduce goods annually into the dominions of the republic, to the amount of more than 2,000,000 of livres *. To the profit which theſe people derive from their exports and imports, which become every day more conſiderable, muſt be added, the benefits which accrue to their navigators, by employing their veſſels to carry the proviſions of the republic to every ſea-port of the Levant, and by bringing back what the republic receives from thoſe places for it's ſubſiſtence. Every one of the numerous veſſels employed in this coaſting trade, pays thirty-one livres ten ſols † for the privilege of anchoring, and an equal ſum when they land their cargoes.

EVERY commodity that enters the ſtate is not obliged to pay more than three per cent. if it comes directly from the country which furniſhes it. But the productions of the north, or of other

* 83,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 1 l. 6 s. 3 d.

parts,

parts, which have been depoſited at Leghorn, pay eight per cent. as well as thoſe which come immediately from that celebrated port, and even eleven per cent. when directed to Jews. Formerly government had kept in their own hands the excluſive trade of the oils, which are required by ſome parts of Europe for their ſoap manufactories, and by Egypt, Algiers, and Tripoli, for other purpoſes; they have given up this monoply; but this ſacrifice hath been purchaſed by very conſiderable duties.

THOUGH Tunis hath concentrated within it's own walls a great part of the trade, the other habours of the republic, ſcattered along a coaſt of fourſcore leagues in extent, receive likewiſe ſome veſſels.

THE one which is the neareſt to Tripoli, is called Sfax. It hath a clayiſh bottom, and hath ſo little water, that the ſmalleſt veſſels are obliged to anchor at a diſtance, and to fatigue their crews to exceſs, or to ruin themſelves in expences for boats. The ſoil doth not produce any proviſions proper for exportation, but ſome important manufactures have been formed in the town, which is moſtly inhabited by Arabs.

THE harbour of Suſa, is defended by three caſtles, even the moſt modern of which is falling into ruin, though it be not yet finiſhed. This harbour is very unſafe, the ſhips in it being conſtantly agitated by the eaſt and by the north-weſt winds, which ſometimes occaſion the loſs of thoſe that have not had time to ſhelter themſelves in the bay of Monoſter. Notwithſtanding this in-

convenience, this city is the ſecond in the republic; and this is owen to the abundance of it's oils, and of it's wool.

Tunis is ſituated in the midſt of infectious moraſſes, at the foot, or upon the declivity of a hill. Though the air be not pure, and though the waters be ſo bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to go two or three miles before they can find any that is fit to drink, yet one hundred and fifty thouſand of the leaſt barbarous people of Africa are collected within it's walls. This town hath a communication with the ſea, by means of a lake, which can admit none but very flat boats, that are called *Sandals*. At the extremity of this lake, is found a narrow canal leading to the Goulette, which muſt be conſidered as the harbour of the capital. This harbour is immenſe, ſafe, and moſt uncommonly even in it's bottom, and on it's ſurface: it is only open to the north-eaſt winds, and is cloſed by two chains of mountains, which are terminated on the north by Cape Bona, and by Cape Zebib.

Biserta was very famous at the time that the republic kept up a great number of galleys; it was from that port they were fitted out, and they brought back to it the profits they reaped from their perpetual piracies. The canal which led from the harbour to the town hath been gradually filled up with mud, and it is at preſent acceſſible to no other veſſels than Sandals; even merchantmen can no longer enter it, and are obliged to caſt anchor rather in a dangerous ſituation.

Port-

PORT-FARINE, ſituated on the ruins, or in the neighbourhood of the ancient Utica, was formerly one of the moſt extenſive, ſafe, and commodious harbours of the Mediterranean, and would ſtill be ſo under any other government, except that of the Moors. It is defended by four forts, and cloſed by a narrow paſs, which at this time is ſcarce acceſſible to the ſmalleſt veſſels, and if it be ſtill neglected, will be quite filled up in a ſhort time, by the ſands continually throw'n in by the ſea. It is however the arſenal, and the only aſylum for the naval military forces, which are at preſent reduced to three half galleys, and five xebecs. The place where Carthage formerly ſtood, is a few miles diſtant from this town; there are no other remains of this renowned city, beſide the ruins of a great aqueduct, and ſome ciſterns in tolerable preſervation. The traces even of it's harbour are ſo much effaced, that the ſea is at the diſtance of a league from it.

THE iſland of Galite is ſituated almoſt at the mouth of the Zaine, which ſeparates Tunis from Algiers. This iſland is covered with flocks, and more eſpecialy with mules, which are in great requeſt throughout the whole of the Levant. It's numerous inhabitants are all weavers of wool, or employed in gathering ſponge. Not far from this iſland is that of Tabarco, which the family of the Lomellini had been in poſſeſſion of for two centuries, when they were deprived of it in 1741. The Genoeſe drew from this barren rock a great quantity of very fine coral.

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Preſent ſtate of Algiers.

To the weſt of Tunis, is the republic of Algiers, the inland parts of which are bounded by the deſert of Sahara, as are all the interior parts in Barbary; they are more extenſive, more populous, and better cultivated than is generally ſuppoſed. There are not many towns in them, and moſt of theſe are built upon the coaſts, the extent of which is one hundred and twenty leagues.

The public revenue is not proportionate to the number of inhabitants, and to the quantity of productions. The duties are commonly loſt in the hands of diſhoneſt perſons who are appointed to collect them. The three Beys, or governors of the eaſt, of the ſouth, and of the weſt, do not deliver into the treaſury more than 1,250,000 livres *, and give only 117,000 livres † to the troops; whatever more is required for the expences of the ſtate, is ſupplied by the cuſtoms, by the domain, by the annual levies in proviſions, and in cattle, by the more precarious profit ariſing from prizes taken at ſea, and from the ſale of ſlaves.

The principal militia of the country conſiſts entirely of Turks; their number ought to be twelve thouſand, but they are never complete. The Dey, his lieutenants, and the members of the divan, are choſen out of this powerful body.

The deſcendants of theſe privileged men are called Couloris; their number is ſixty thouſand,

* 52,083 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 4,875 l.

they

they are all in the ſervice of the regency, and paid in the ſame manner as at Tunis.

THE cavalry, which conſiſts of about twenty thouſand men, is compoſed entirely of Moors; whether they make war againſt the Arabs, or are employed by government for the defence of the provinces, or in collecting the taxes, their pay is very trifling.

BESIDE this numerous army, which is always kept up, the government can diſpoſe at pleaſure of the Moors who dwell in the plains, or among the mountains, if they ſhould be in want of them; they all of them join their ſtandards without reluctance, and attack the enemy with great intrepidity.

THE naval forces are not near ſo numerous as thoſe of the land; at preſent they are reduced to ſeventeen veſſels; one ſhip of fifty guns, two frigates of forty-two and thirty four guns, five large barks, two xebecs, four half galleys, and three galliots; ſeveral of theſe veſſels, which are all deſtined for piracy, belong to the ſtate, others to the officers of the regency, and ſome even to private individuals. Every proprietor bears the expence of his armament, and divides the profits with the treaſury and with the crew. The Dey commonly requires the prizes which conſiſt of timber for ſhip-building, and of military ſtores. He ought to pay the value of them, but the indemnity is never proportioned to the ſacrifice.

THE navigators, to whom the ports of Algiers are opened, can land in ſeven or eight places.

THE

THE port of Callaa, at a ſmall diſtance from the frontiers of Tunis, is tolerably good, but it cannot hold more than five or ſix ſhips. Thoſe that are admitted into it are all French: ſome individuals of that nation have obtained, ever ſince the year 1560, from the Mooriſh prince, who governed the diſtrict at that time, the liberty of forming a ſettlement to carry on the coral fiſhery. They were driven away eight years after by the Turks, and re-eſtabliſhed in 1597, but they were again expelled: they were recalled in 1637, and permitted to re-build a ſmall fortification formerly erected there, under the name of the baſtion of France. Being ſoon diſguſted with ſo inconvenient a ſituation, the perſons concerned transferred their ſettlement to Chale, which the Engliſh had been compelled to abandon; they themſelves were expelled ſoon after, and they were not allowed to return to their poſt, till after the bombardment of Algiers, executed in 1682, and 1684, by command of Lewis XIV.

IN 1694, a more powerful aſſociation than any of the preceding, obtained the excluſive trade upon a conſiderable extent of coaſt, by a treaty which hath often been renewed, and which will in all probability be maintained, becauſe the conditions of it are favourable to the militia, to whom the tribute upon which it is founded belongs. Several companies have ſucceſſively exerciſed this monopoly with more or leſs advantage. Since 1741, it is in the hands of a company, which hath formed at Marſeilles a capital of 1,200,000 livres*,

* 50,000 l.

 divided

divided into twelve hundred ſhares, three hundred of which belong to the chamber of commerce of this celebrated city.

THE firſt tranſactions of the ſociety were unfortunate. The depredations made by pirates, and by the natives, by the competition of ſmugglers, and by a corrupt adminiſtration, reduced their capital in 1766 to 570,000 livres*; ſince that period, their affairs have been ſo proſperous, that in the latter part of December 1773, they were in poſſeſſion of 4,512,445 livres, 3 ſols, 4 deniers†, beſide the doubtful debts, the value of their buildings, and ſome merchandiſe which remained unſold in the warehouſes.

THEIR exports are trifling, and it is chiefly with money that they purchaſe coral, wax, wool, tallow, hides, and eſpecially corn. In 1773, they brought into the kingdom eighty-four thouſand, three hundred, and ſix loads of wheat, and ſixteen thouſand, one hundred, and ſeventy three loads of barley, beans, and millet ſeed. One hundred, or one hundred and twenty veſſels, the fitting out of which coſts about one hundred thouſand crowns‡, are annually employed in this buſineſs.

THOUGH the company hath agents at Bona, and at Callaa, all the tranſactions are carried on at the laſt place. They are even permitted to have a few batteries, and ſome ſoldiers in this fortified factory, in order to ſecure themſelves

* 23,750 l. † About 188,018 l. 11s. ‡ 12,500 l.

from

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from the plunders of the pirates, and from the inſults of the neighbouring Moors.

THE court of Verſailles hath been often cenſured, for having ſhackled theſe connections in the bonds of a monopoly. It hath not been obſerved, that it was neceſſary to inſure the ſubſiſtence of Provence; and there was no other method of doing this, becauſe the exportation of corn from the ſtates of Barbary is ſeldom permitted.

BONA appears to have been the ancient Hippona. A few beautiful ruins are diſcovered amidſt the boldneſs of the Mooriſh taſte. It would be an eaſy matter to make a commodious harbour to the town, as it hath already an exceeding good road. This new aſylum would be ſufficiently protected by the works which have exiſted for a long while, under the name of the Fort of Genoa.

BUGIA is a tolerably large ſtaple for oil, and for the wax, which are found in the neighbouring plains; and eſpecially for iron, which is brought from more diſtant mountains, that abound in mines. Though it's harbour be too much expoſed to the north winds, the ſquadrons of the republic uſed to anchor in it, before they were deſtroyed there by the Engliſh in the laſt century.

THE antiquities which are found in Tedelez, prove that it was formerly a conſiderable place. The veſtiges of a great pier are even diſcerned upon the ſhore, which probably advanced into the ſea, and formed a port to the town. It is at preſent a very indifferent harbour, where ſhips

which

which go to take in their lading are too often deſtroyed.

ALGIERS, the capital of the ſtate, forms an amphitheatre, upon the declivity of a hill, which is crowned by the citadel. It's territory is well cultivated by ſlaves, and is covered with wheat, rice, hemp, fruits, vegetables, and even with vines, planted by the Moors who were expelled from Grenada. The entering into, and the going out of the port, are very difficult; it is exceedingly narrow, and doth not contain ſufficient water to hold men of war: and in ſtormy weather even the merchantmen are not ſafe; they often run foul of each other, and are ſometimes ſhattered, when the north or north-eaſt winds blow with violence. The harbour forms a ſemicircle; it hath a good bottom; but as it is expoſed to the ſame winds as the port, the ſhips are in equal danger in the ſtormy ſeaſons.

SERCELLI is five or ſix leagues diſtant from Algiers. This town hath a creek, or ſmall bay, where ſeveral veſſels caſt anchor. It's ſoil is very low, it's ſhore beautiful, and it is the part of the coaſt the moſt favourable for a deſcent.

ARSEW, the environs of which are delightful, muſt be the Arſenaria of the antients. Some tolerably fine remains of ſeveral monuments are found in it. It's port is ſafe, commodious, and well frequented. A harbour might be formed in it, at a trifling expence, capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips. This is the Mooriſh town neareſt to Oran, which the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of in 1509; which was taken from them in 1708; and which

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which they retook in 1732, and have kept ever ſince.

THE numbers of European ſhips which land annually at the States of Algiers, vary according to circumſtances; but they are never conſiderable; the moſt plentiful harveſt doth not attract above one hundred. A French veſſel, whether great or ſmall, laden or empty, pays for it's anchorage 143 livres 8 ſols *; and this tax is ſtill higher for other nations. They ought all, without diſtinction, to pay three per cent. for all the merchandize they bring in; but this duty is reduced to two per cent. by the arrangements made with the farmers of the cuſtoms. The proviſions that are exported from the country are ſubjected to no tax, becauſe government are the only dealers in them.

THOUGH the Engliſh, the Danes, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Venetians, are perfectly free in the ports of Algiers, they nevertheleſs carry on no great trade there. Three fourths of the trade are fallen into the hands of the French; and yet their annual ſales do not amount to more than 200,000 livres †, nor their purchaſes to above 600,000 livres ‡. Two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty quintals of wool, five thouſand of oil, ſixteen thouſand of wheat, and thirty thouſand hides, are the amount of all their exports. The tranſactions of the African Company are not included in theſe calculations.

* 5 l. 19 s. 6 d.

† 8,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

‡ 25,000 l.

MOROCCO

Present ſtate of Morocco.

Morocco hath been as often and as dreadfully ſubverted as the reſt of the northern coaſts of Africa; but hath not ſubmitted to the Turkiſh yoke. Even thoſe provinces which had been diſmembered from it, under the name of Fez, of Sus, and of Tafilet, have been ſucceſſively united to the empire. One ſingle deſpot governs this immenſe country, according to his caprices, which are almoſt always extravagant or ſanguinary. The deſtructive authority which he hath been ſuffered to uſurp, is perpetuated without any other regular troops, except a feeble guard of timid negroes. It is only with ſome of theſe ſlaves whom he chooſes occaſionally to aſſemble under his banners, that he makes war. His maritime forces are ſcarce more formidable. They conſiſt of three frigates, two half-galleys, three xebecks, and fifteen galliots. Piracy hath been hitherto their only occupation. It might be expected that theſe depredations would ſoon be put an end to, if it were reaſonable to rely upon the faith of a tyrant, or to hope that his ſucceſſors would at laſt adopt ſome more humane ſentiments. The public revenue muſt be very trifling, in a region which is for ever ruined by vexations and maſſacres. The expences, however, are ſtill leſs. Whatever can be ſpared is added to increaſe an immenſe treaſure, antiently formed out of the ſpoils of Spain, and always augmented by a long ſeries of ſovereigns, more or leſs cruel, who looked upon money as the only good, and thought nothing of the happineſs of their ſubjects.

THIS ardent thirſt of wealth hath deſcended from the throne to individuals. A caravan ſets out annually from the town of Morocco, which was the capital of the ſtate, before Mequinez was preferred by the ſovereigns. This caravan, which goes in ſearch of gold from Upper Guinea, muſt have travelled over a ſpace of five hundred leagues before it's arrival in the kingdom, two hundred in the empire itſelf, two hundred in the deſert of Sahara, and one hundred after having quitted it. In the midſt of the deſert, ſurrounded with barren and accummulated ſands, where it is not poſſible to travel but in the night, where the march muſt neceſſarily be ſlow, where one muſt be guided by a compaſs, and by obſerving the ſtars, in the ſame manner as on the ocean; in this deſert nature hath placed a leſs ſavage diſtrict, abounding in ſprings and in ſalt mines. The camels are laden with this neceſſary foſſil, and it is carried to Tombuto, where gold is received in exchange.

THIS precious metal, when arrived at Morocco, is very ſeldom circulated there. It is buried, as in all governments where the fortunes of individuals are not ſecure. A ſimilar deſtiny attends the money which is introduced by the Europeans in the empire, in the nine harbours which are always open to them.

TETUAN is the neareſt port to the ſtate of Algiers. It is ſafe, unleſs the eaſterly winds blow with violence, which ſeldom happens. The river of Bourſega, which empties itſelf into it, ſerves for an aſylum to ſome pirates during the winter.

The garriſon of Gibraltar formerly ſent to purchaſe there the cattle, fruit, and vegetables, neceſſary for it's conſumption; but this connection hath ceaſed, ſince the ſovereign of the country hath required that the Engliſh conſul ſhould reſide at Tangier.

This town, conquered by Portugal in 1471, was given to the Engliſh in 1662. Theſe forſook it, after keeping it two and twenty years. When they retired, they blew up a pier, which they had conſtructed for the ſecurity of the largeſt ſhips. The ruins of this beautiful work have rendered the approach of the bay very difficult. Accordingly it would be of no importance, if the mouth of the river, which is diſcovered at the end, did not afford a ſhelter to moſt of the galliots of the empire. Tangier hath ſucceeded Tetuan in ſupplying Gibraltar with proviſions. The communication between theſe two Mooriſh towns is interrupted by the fortreſs of Ceuta, which is parted from Spain, to which it belongs, only by a ſtreight of five leagues.

Arrach is the natural vent for the productions of Aſgar, one of the largeſt and the moſt fertile provinces of the empire. This advantage, a fortunate poſition, and the goodneſs of it's port, muſt ſooner or later impart to it ſome degree of activity. At preſent it is inhabited only by ſoldiers. Since the expedition which the French attempted againſt it, in 1765, the fortifications raiſed by the Spaniards, when they were maſters of the place, have been reſtored.

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Sallee was, not long ago, almoſt an independent republic, under a chief elected by itſelf. It's ſituation, in the midſt of the country ſubject to Morocco, enabled it to collect a great many proviſions. It's inhabitants were at once both merchants and pirates. They have almoſt ceaſed to exerciſe either of theſe profeſſions, after having been ſubdued, and ſpoiled of their riches by the preſent monarch, at the time that his father was upon the throne. A ſand-bank, which ſeems to be perpetually increaſing, prevents all ſhips from entering the river, except thoſe which do not carry more than ſix or ſeven feet of water; but the harbour is ſafe from the end of April till the end of September.

Muley Mehemet was deſirous of building a commercial town in the peninſula of Fedale, and moſt of the buildings were begun. A harbour, which is ſafe in all ſeaſons, though the ſea be conſtantly agitated, had ſuggeſted this idea to him. He hath given it up, ſince he hath been made to underſtand that the expence would be throw'n away, upon a coaſt which was acceſſible almoſt in all parts.

In 1769, the Portugueze forſook Mazagan, after having deſtroyed the works. Since this period, the place is almoſt deſerted. It's harbour is convenient in ſummer for ſmall veſſels; but even in that ſeaſon the men of war are obliged to anchor at a diſtance.

Saffi hath a large harbour, which is very ſafe part of the year, but too much expoſed in winter

to the violence of the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt winds. It's ſituation, in the midſt of a fertile, rich, and populous country, had rendered this great town almoſt the general market of the productions of the empire. It hath been lately ſtripped of this advantage by Mogador, which is built on the moſt weſtern part of Africa.

The port of this new ſtaple is only a canal formed by an iſland, at the diſtance of five hundred toiſes from the land. One may ſail in and out of it with every wind; but it hath not ſufficient depth to harbour large ſhips, and the anchorage is not ſafe in bad weather. No man of war can anchor on the coaſt, on account of the great rapidity of the currents. Though the territory ſurrounding this place be not very fit for cultivation, the caprice of the deſpot, who ſtill governs the country, hath rendered it the moſt important mart of his dominions, more conſiderable even than all the others collectively.

Santa Cruz, ſituated in the kingdom of Sus, in the thirtieth degree of latitude, is the laſt maritime place of the empire. It's harbour is convenient, and very ſafe even for ſhips of the line, but during ſummer only. It was formerly a tolerably great market, where the navigators found collected together all the productions of an extenſive and well-cultivated country, and where all the gold which Tarodant drew from Tombuto was brought. The town was taken out of the hands of the Portugueze, and returned under the dominion of the Moors, without entirely loſing it's importance. An earthquake, which deſtroyed

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part of it in 1731, was more fatal than this revolution. It might, perhaps, have recovered from this calamity, had not Muley Muhammet, in a fit of paſſion, the cauſe of which was never know'n, driven the inhabitants out of it ſome years after, and ſubſtituted to them a colony of Negroes.

Morocco receives but few European veſſels. It's ports are ſhut againſt ſeveral nations, and England, Holland, and Tuſcany, who have formed treaties with that power, reap no great advantage from them. In order to give ſome ſpirit to this trade, which was perhaps too much neglected, a capital of 1,323,958 livres, 6 ſols, 6 deniers *, was formed at Copenhagen in 1755, which was divided into five hundred ſhares, of 2,647 livres 18 ſols 4 deniers each †. This aſſociation was to laſt forty years; but, for what reaſon is not know'n, it hath not continued half the time. Though the connections of France with that empire have not ſubſiſted beyond the year 1767, the tranſactions of this crown are of much more importance, and yet it's annual ſales do not exceed 400,000 livres ‡, nor it's purchaſes 1,200,000 livres ‖.

Every thing that enters, or comes out of the ſtates of Morocco, pays ten per cent. Each veſſel is alſo obliged to deliver five hundred pounds of gun-powder, and ten bullets from ten to twelve inches in diameter, or 577 livres ten

* About 55,164l. 18s. 8d.
† About 110l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 16,666l. 13s. 4d.
‖ 50,000l.

ſols

ſols * in ſpecie. The Spaniſh coin is moſt commonly uſed; but all the others are admitted according to their weight and their denomination.

Origin of the piracies committed upon the Eaſtern Coaſts of Africa. Means of putting a ſtop to them.

THE picture that hath juſt been traced of the countries of Barbary, muſt have appeared very horrid. The ſtate of deſolation in which we have ſeen them plunged, hath been the unavoidable conſequence of the propenſity of theſe people to piracy. This taſte, which is very antient in theſe regions, increaſed conſiderably after they had ſhaken off a foreign yoke. It became a paſſion, upon occaſion of an event which greatly increaſed their maritime forces.

SPAIN, which, for ſeveral centuries, had been ſubject to the diſciples of the Koran, had, at laſt, broken it's chains, and ſubdued the Mohammedans in it's turn. It was deſirous of compelling them to turn Chriſtians; and it's zeal was irritated by unſurmountable reſiſtance. It's blindneſs went ſo far as to depopulate the ſtate, in order to purge it of ſuſpicious ſubjects, and ſuch as were of an inimical religion. Moſt of theſe exiles ſought a refuge among the people of Barbary. Their new country was too ignorant of trade and induſtry, to enable them to put forth their talents, and to avail themſelves of their riches. The ſpirit of revenge made them pirates. At firſt they contented themſelves with ravaging the vaſt and fertile plains of their oppreſſors. They ſurprized, in their beds, the lazy inhabit-

* 24l. 1s. 3d.

ants of the rich countries of Valencia, Grenada, and Andaluſia, and reduced them to ſlavery. But, at length, diſdaining the ſpoils they acquired, upon a ſoil which they had formerly cultivated with their own hands, they conſtructed large veſſels, inſulted the flag of the other nations, and reduced the greateſt powers of Europe to the ſhameful neceſſity of ſending them annual preſents, which, under whatever denomination we may diſguiſe them, are, in fact, a tribute. Theſe pirates have been ſometimes puniſhed, ſometimes humbled; but their depredations have never been totally ſuppreſſed, although this might be done with the greateſt eaſe.

The Arabs, wandering in the deſerts; the antient inhabitants of the country, who cultivate the fields; the Moors come out of Spain, moſt of whom are ſettled upon the coaſts; the Jews, who are deſpiſed, oppreſſed, and outraged: all the people, in a word, of that continent, deteſt the yoke which oppreſſes them, and would not make the leaſt exertion to continue under it.

No foreign ſuccour would retard for a moment the fall of this authority. The only power that might be ſuſpected of wiſhing it's preſervation, the Sultan of Conſtantinople, is not ſo highly gratified with the vain title of protector, which it confers on him, nor ſo jealous of that of the chief of the religion which is aſcribed to him, to intereſt himſelf warmly in it's preſervation. All endeavours to excite the Turks to interfere, by ſubmiſſions, which particular circumſtances might probably extort from theſe plunderers, would certainly

certainly be ineffectual. Their intreaties would not impart ſtrength. For theſe two centuries paſt, the Porte has no navy, and it's military power is continually decaying.

But to what people is reſerved the glory of breaking thoſe fetters which Africa is thus inſenſibly preparing for us, and of removing thoſe terrors, which are ſo formidable to our navigators. No nation can attempt it alone; and, perhaps, if it did, the jealouſy of the reſt would throw ſecret obſtacles in it's way. This muſt, therefore, be the work of a general combination. All the maritime powers muſt concur in the execution of a deſign, in which all are equally intereſted. Theſe ſtates, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, to mutual good-will, to mutual defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having ſo frequently united for their mutual deſtruction, let them at length take up arms for their preſervation. War, for once, at leaſt, will then become uſeful and juſt.

One may venture to aſſert, that ſuch a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with ſkill and unanimity. Each member of the confederacy, attacking at the ſame time the enemy it had to reduce, would experience but a weak reſiſtance, or, perhaps, none. Perhaps, this nobleſt and greateſt of enterprizes would coſt Europe leſs blood and treaſure, than the moſt trivial of thoſe quarrels with which it is continually agitated.

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No man would do the politicians who ſhould form this plan the injuſtice to ſuppoſe, that they would confine their ambition to the filling up of roads, the demoliſhing of forts, and the ravaging of coaſts. Such narrow notions would be inconſiſtent with the preſent improvements of reaſon. The countries ſubdued would remain to the conquerors, and each of the allies would acquire poſſeſſions, proportionate to the aſſiſtance they had given to the common cauſe. Theſe conqueſts would become ſo much the more ſecure, as the happineſs of the vanquiſhed would be the conſequence of them. This race of pirates, theſe ſea-monſters, would be changed into men by ſalutary laws, and examples of humanity. The progreſs they would gradually make, by the knowlege we ſhould impart to them, would, in time, diſpel that fanaticiſm which ignorance and miſery have kept up in their minds. They would ever recollect, with gratitude, the memorable æra which had brought us to their ſhores.

We ſhould no longer ſee them leave a country uncultivated, which was formerly ſo fertile. Corn, and various fruits, would ſoon cover this immenſe tract of land. Theſe productions would be bartered for the works of our induſtry, and of our manufactures. European traders, ſettled in Africa, would become the factors of this trade, which would prove of mutual advantage to both countries. A communication ſo natural, between oppoſite coaſts, and between people who have a neceſſary intercourſe with each other, would,

would, as it were, extend the boundaries of the world. This new kind of conqueſt which preſents itſelf to us, would amply compenſate for thoſe, which, during ſo many centuries, have contributed to the diſtreſs of mankind.

The jealouſy of the great maritime powers, who have obſtinately rejected all expedients to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity on our ſeas, hath been the chief impediment to ſo important a revolution. The hope of checking the induſtry of every weak ſtate, hath accuſtomed them to wiſh, that theſe piracies of Barbary ſhould continue, and hath even induced them to encourage theſe plunders. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred, if their underſtanding had equalled their mercenary views. All nations would certainly profit from this happy change; but the greateſt advantages would infallibly redound to the maritime ſtates, in proportion to their power. Their ſituation, the ſafety of their navigation, the greatneſs of their capital, and various other means, would ſecure them this ſuperiority. They are conſtantly complaining of the ſhackles which national envy, the folly of reſtraints and prohibitions, and the confined idea of excluſive traffic, have impoſed upon their activity. The people gradually become as much ſtrangers to one another, as they were in the barbarous ages. The void, which this want of communication neceſſarily occaſions, would be filled up, if Africa were brought to have wants and reſources to ſatisfy them. The ſpirit of commerce

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commerce would have a new career opened to it's exertion.

NEVERTHELESS, if the reduction and ſubjection of Barbary would not become a ſource of happineſs for them as well as for ourſelves; if we are reſolved not to treat them as brethren; if we wiſh not to conſider them as our friends; if we muſt keep up and perpetuate ſlavery and poverty among them; if fanaticiſm can ſtill renew thoſe deteſtable cruſades, which philoſophy, too late, hath conſigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa muſt at length become the ſcene of our cruelties, as Aſia and America have been, and ſtill are; may the project which humanity hath now dictated to us, for the good of our fellow-creatures, be buried in perpetual oblivion! Let us remain in our ports. It is indifferent, whether they be Chriſtians or Muſſulmen who ſuffer. Man is the only object worthy to intereſt man.

MEN! you are all brethren. How long will you defer to acknowlege each other? How long will it be before you perceive that Nature, your common mother, offers nouriſhment equally to all her children? Why muſt you deſtroy each other; and why muſt the hand that feeds you be continually ſtained with your blood? The acts that would excite your abhorrence in animals, you have been committing almoſt ever ſince you exiſt. Are you apprehenſive of becoming too numerous? And do you not think that you will be exterminated faſt enough by peſtilential diſeaſes,

eaſes, by the inclemency of the elements, by your labours, by your paſſions, by your vices, by your prejudices, by the weakneſs of your organs, and by the natural ſhortneſs of your life? The wiſdom of the Being to whom you owe your exiſtence, hath preſcribed limits to your population, and to that of all living creatures, which will never be broken through. Have you not, in your wants, which are inceſſantly renewed, a ſufficient number of enemies conſpiring againſt you, without entering into a league with them? Man boaſts of his ſuperior excellence to all natural beings; and yet, with a ſpirit of ferociouſneſs, which is not obſerved even in the race of tygers, man is the moſt terrible ſcourge of man. If his wiſhes were to be accompliſhed, there would ſoon remain no more than one ſingle being of the ſame ſpecies upon the whole face of the globe.

Colour of the inhabitants of the Weſtern Coaſt of Africa, know'n by the name of Guinea. Enquiry into the cauſe of this phænomenon.

THIS being, ſo cruel and ſo compaſſionate, ſo odious and ſo intereſting, unhappy in the northern part of Africa, experiences a deſtiny infinitely more dreadful in the weſtern part of this vaſt region.

UPON this coaſt, which extends from the Streight of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope, the inhabitants have all, beyond the Niger, an oblong head; the noſe large, flattened and ſpread out; thick lips; and curled hair, like the wool of our ſheep. They are born white; and the only brown colour they at firſt exhibit, is round the nails and the eyes, with a ſmall ſpot formed at the extremity of the genitals. Towards the eighth

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eighth day after their birth the children begin to change colour, their ſkin darkens, and at length grows black, but of a dirty, ſallow, and almoſt livid black; which, in proceſs of time, becomes gloſſy and ſhining.

The fleſh, however, the bones, the viſcera, and all the internal parts, are of the ſame colour in Negroes as in white people. The lymph is equally white and limpid; and the milk of the nurſes is every where the ſame.

The moſt palpable difference between them is, that the Negroes have the ſkin much hotter, and, as it were, oily, the blood of a blackiſh hue, the bile very deep coloured, the pulſe quicker, a ſweat which yields a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell, and a perſpiration which often blackens the ſubſtance it comes in contact with. One of the inconveniences of this black colour, the image of night, which confounds all objects, is, that it hath, in ſome meaſure, obliged theſe people to ſcar their face and breaſt, and to ſtain their ſkin with various colours, in order that they may know each other at a diſtance. There are ſome tribes in which this practice is univerſal; among others, it appears to be a diſtinction reſerved to ſuperior rank. But as we ſee this cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the people of Tartary, of Canada, and of other ſavage nations, it may be doubted, whether it be not rather the effect of their wandering way of life, than of their complexion.

This colour proceeds from a mucous ſubſtance, which forms a kind of network between the epidermis and the ſkin. This ſubſtance, which

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is white in Europeans, brown in people of an olive complexion, and ſprinkled over with reddiſh ſpots among light-haired or carotty people, is blackiſh among the Negroes.

THE deſire of diſcovering the cauſes of this colour, hath given riſe to a variety of ſyſtems.

THEOLOGY, which hath taken poſſeſſion of the human mind by opinion; which hath availed itſelf of the firſt fears of infancy, to inſpire reaſon with eternal apprehenſions; which hath altered every thing, geography, aſtronomy, philoſophy, and hiſtory; which hath introduced the marvellous, and the myſterious in every thing, in order to arrogate to itſelf the right of explaining every thing: theology, after having made a race of men guilty and unfortunate from the fault of Adam, hath made a race of black men, in order to puniſh the fratricide of his ſon. The Negroes are the deſcendants of Cain. If their father was an aſſaſſin, it muſt be allowed, that his poſterity have made a ſevere atonement for his crime; and that the deſcendants of the pacific Abel, have thoroughly avenged the innocent blood of their father.

REASON hath attempted to explain the colour of the negroes, from conſequences deduced from the phænomena of chymiſtry. According to ſome naturaliſts, it is a vitriolic fluid contained in the lymph of the negroes, and being too groſs to paſs through the pores of the ſkin, it ferments and unites with the mucous body, which it colours. It is then urged, why is the hair curled, and why are the eyes and teeth of negroes ſo white? for

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for the authors of this ſyſtem, do not conſider, that a vitriolic ſalt of ſuch power and activity, would at length deſtroy all organiſation. This, however, is as perfect in Negroes, as in the whiteſt of the human race.

Anatomy hath thought to have diſcovered the origin of the blackneſs of negroes in the principles of generation. Nothing more, it ſhould ſeem, would be neceſſary to prove, that Negroes are a particular ſpecies of men. For if any thing diſcriminates the ſpecies, or the claſſes in each ſpecies, it is certainly the difference of the ſemen. But upon conſidering the matter more attentively, this hath been found to be a miſtake, ſo that this explanation of the colour of Negroes, hath been given up. Neither have the conſequences, pretended to be deduced from the difference between their figure and that of other people, appeared more convincing. Some of theſe forms are owen to the climate, moſt of them to antient cuſtoms. It hath been conceived, that theſe barbarians might poſſibly have formed ſome extravagant ideas of beauty, according to which they had endeavoured to form their children; that this habit, in proceſs of time, had been turned into nature, ſo that it was very ſeldom neceſſary to have recourſe to art, in order to obtain theſe ſingular forms.

There are other cauſes of the colour of negroes, more ſatisfactory than theſe: the ſeat of it, as we have obſerved, is in the *Rete Mucoſum*, under the epidermis, or cuticle. The ſubſtance of this net-work, which is mucous in the firſt inſtance, is afterwards

afterwards changed into a web of veſſels, the diameter of which is conſiderable enough to admit, either a portion of the colouring part of the blood, or of the bile, which is ſaid to have a peculiar tendency towards the ſkin. From hence proceeds among white people, in whom this *Rete Mucoſum* is more lax, the more vivid complexion of the cheeks. From hence alſo, that yellow or copper-colour, which diſtinguiſhes whole nations, while under another climate, it is confined to one perſon, and produced by diſeaſe. The exiſtence of one or of the other of theſe fluids, is ſufficient to colour the negroes, eſpecially if we add, that the epidermis, and the *Rete Mucoſum*, is thicker in them; that the blood is blackiſh, and the bile deeper coloured, and that their ſweat, which is more plentiful, and leſs fluid, muſt neceſſarily thicken under the epidermis, and increaſe the darkneſs of the colour.

THIS ſyſtem is alſo ſupported by natural philoſophy, which obſerves, that the parts of the body expoſed to the ſun are moſt deeply coloured, and that travellers, and people who dwell in the country, and who lead a wandering life; all thoſe, in a word, who live continually in the open air, and under a more burning ſky, have darker complexions. Philoſophy thinks, from theſe obſervations, that the primitive cauſe of the colour of the negroes may be attributed to the climate, and to the ardour of the ſun. There are no Negroes, it is ſaid, except in hot climates; their colour becomes darker in proportion as they approach the equator. It grows lighter at the extremities

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tremities of the torrid zone. All the human ſpecies, in general, whitens in the ſnow, and is tanned in the ſun. We perceive the different ſhades from white to black, and thoſe from black to white, marked, as it were, by the parallel degrees which cut the earth in the direction from the equator to the poles. If the zones, contrived by the inventors of the ſphere, were repreſented by real bands, we ſhould ſee the black ebony colour, inſenſibly changing to the right and left as far as the tropics, and from thence the brown colour would be ſeen to grow paler and lighter as far as the polar circles, by ſhades of white continually increaſing in clearneſs.

As the ſhades of black are, however, deeper upon the weſtern coaſts of Africa, than in other regions perhaps as much heated, the ardour of the ſun muſt certainly be combined with other cauſes, which have an equal influence upon organiſation. Such of the Europeans as have made the longeſt reſidence in thoſe countries, attribute this greater degree of blackneſs to the nitrous, ſulphureous, or metallic particles, that are continually exhaling from the ſurface or from the bowels of the earth, to the cuſtom of going naked, to the proximity of burning ſands, and to other particulars which do not occur elſewhere in the ſame degree.

The circumſtance that ſeems to confirm the opinion, that the colour of the negroes is the effect of the climate, of the air, of the water, and of the food of Guinea, is, that this colour changes when the inhabitants are removed into

other countries. The children they procreate in America, are not ſo black as their parents were. After each generation, the difference becomes more palpable. It is poſſible, that after a numerous ſucceſſion of generations, the men come from Africa, would not be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the country into which they may have been tranſplanted.

ALTHOUGH the opinion, which aſcribes to the climate the firſt cauſe of the colour of the inhabitants of Guinea, be almoſt generally adopted, all the objections that may be urged againſt this ſyſtem, have not yet been anſwered. This is one proof, added to a multitude of others, of the uncertainty of our knowlege.

AND, indeed, how is it poſſible that our knowlege ſhould not be uncertain and circumſcribed? Our organs are ſo feeble, and our means ſo inſufficient, our ſtudies ſo much interrupted, our life ſo much agitated, and the object of our inquiries is of ſo immenſe an extent! Let naturaliſts, philoſophers, chymiſts, and accurate obſervers of nature in all her works, perſevere in their labours inceſſantly; and after ages of united and continual efforts, the ſecrets of nature which they will have diſcovered, when compared to her immenſe treaſures, will be no more than as a drop of water to the vaſt ocean. The rich man ſleeps, and the learned man is watchful, but he is poor. His diſcoveries are matters of too little concern to government, to encourage him to ſolicit aſſiſtance, or to hope for reward. More than one Ariſtotle would be found among us, but where

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is the monarch who would ſay to him; my power is at thy diſpoſal, make a free uſe of my riches, and perſevere in thy labours? Tell us, thou celebrated Buffon, tell us, to what height of perfection thou wouldſt have carried thine immortal work, hadſt thou lived under an Alexander?

The contemplative man is ſedentary, and the traveller is either ignorant or deceitful. The man on whom genius hath been beſtowed, deſpiſes minute details and experiments; and the man who makes experiments, is almoſt always deſtitute of genius. Among the multitude of agents which nature employs, we are only acquainted with ſome, and even theſe we have but an imperfect knowlege of. Who ſhall determine, whether the others are not of ſuch a nature as to elude for ever our ſenſes, as not to be wrought upon by our inſtruments, and not to be ſubmitted to our obſervations and experiments? The nature of thoſe two principles that compoſe the univerſe, ſpirit and matter, will be ever a myſtery.

Among the natural qualities of bodies, there is not a ſingle one, upon which multitudes of experiments are not yet remaining to be tried; and it is even a matter of doubt, whether all theſe experiments are feaſible. How long ſhall we be reduced to the neceſſity of forming conjectures, which are one day brought forth, and the next refuted? Who ſhall reſtrain that almoſt invincible propenſity to analogy, a mode of judging ſo ſeducing, ſo convenient, and ſo fallacious? No

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ſooner have we collected a few facts, than we haſten to build up a ſyſtem, which leads the multitude, and ſuſpends our reſearches after truth. The time employed in forming an hypotheſis, and the time employed in refuting it, are both equally loſt. The ſciences of calculation, that are ſo ſatisfactory to ſelf-love, which delights in overcoming difficulties; and to the accurate man who is fond of exact inferences, will continue, but with little advantage, in the common uſages of life. Religion, which looks with diſdain upon the labours of a being in a chryſalis, and which is ſecretly alarmed at the progreſs of reaſon, will multiply idle perſons, and retard the labours of the induſtrious by fear or by ſcruples. In proportion as a ſcience advances, the improvement of it becomes more difficult, the greater number become diſguſted, and the ſcience is no longer cultivated, unleſs by a few perſevering men, who ſtill attend to it, either from habit, or from the expectation, well or ill founded, of acquiring fame; till at length ridicule interferes, and the man is pointed at as a fool or a madman, who flatters himſelf that he ſhall overcome a difficulty, which ſome celebrated perſons may not have been able to ſolve. Thus it is, that his cotemporaries endeavour to conceal their apprehenſion of his being really ſucceſsful.

In all ages, and among all nations, we have ſeen ſome ſtudies prevailing, which were afterwards neglected and ſucceeded by others in a kind of regular order. This fickleneſs, and diſguſt, are not the defects of one man alone; they are the vice of the moſt numerous and moſt en-

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lightened ſocieties. It ſhould ſeem as if the arts and ſciences had their periods of faſhion.

We have begun by having erudite men. After theſe came the poets and orators. To the poets and orators ſucceeded metaphyſicians, who gave way to geometricians, and theſe again to natural philoſophers, which in their turn have been replaced by naturaliſts and chymiſts. The turn for natural hiſtory ſeems to be upon the decline. We are now entirely abſorbed in queſtions of government, of legiſlation, of morality, of politics, and of commerce. If I might be allowed to hazard a prophecy, I ſhould predict, that the minds of men will inceſſantly be turned towards hiſtory, an immenſe career, in which philoſophy hath not yet made any advances.

For, in fact, if from that infinite multitude of volumes, we were to tear out the pages beſtowed upon great aſſaſſins, who are called conquerors, or reduce the accounts of them to a few pages, which even they ſcarce deſerve, what would there be remaining? Who is it that hath ſpoken to us of the climate, of the ſoil, of productions, of quadrupeds, of birds, of fiſh, of plants, of fruits, of minerals, of manners, of cuſtoms, of ſuperſtitions, of prejudices, of ſciences, of arts, of commerce, of government, and of laws? What do we know of a multitude of ancient nations, that can be of the leaſt uſe to modern ones? Both their wiſdom and their folly are equally loſt to us. Their annals never give us any information upon thoſe points, which it moſt concerns us to know; upon the true glory of a ſovereign, upon the baſis of the ſtrength

ſtrength of nations, upon the felicity of the people, upon the duration of empires. Let thoſe beautiful addreſſes of a general to his ſoldiers upon the point of action, ſerve as models of eloquence to the rhetorician; there can be no objection to this; but were I to get them by heart, I ſhould neither become more equitable, nor more firm, nor more informed, nor a better man. The time draws near, when reaſon, juſtice, and truth, ſhall ſnatch out of the hands of ignorance and flattery, the pen which they have holden but for too long a time. Tremble, you who delude men with falſehoods, or who make them groan under the yoke of oppreſſion. Sentence is going to be paſſed upon you.

THERE are but two ſeaſons know'n in Guinea. The moſt wholeſome, and the moſt agreeable one begins in April, and ends in October. Then it never rains; but thick vapours, which cover the horizon, intercept the rays of the ſun, and moderate the ardour of them; and every night there are dews that fall in ſufficient quantities to keep up the vegetation of plants. During the reſt of the year, the heats are exceſſive, and would perhaps be inſupportable, were it not for the rains which ſucceed each other with great rapidity. Unfortunately, nature hath ſeldom diſpoſed the territory, ſo as to favour the running off of theſe waters when too plentiful; and art hath never interfered to aſſiſt nature. Hence the origin of ſo many moraſſes in this part of the globe. They are moſt commonly fatal to ſtrangers, whom their avidity leads into the vicinity of them.

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them. The natives of the country, by kindling fires every night near their dwellings, purify the corrupt air, to which they are moreover accuſtomed from their infancy. The little varieties which the north and ſouth of the line may exhibit, do not invalidate the accuracy of theſe obſervations.

Nature of the ſoil and coaſts of Guinea,

FROM the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, as far as Senegal, the land is entirely barren. A long band of the deſerts of Sahara, which extends from the Atlantic Ocean as far as Egypt, to the ſouth of all the ſtates of Barbary, occupies this immenſe ſpace. Some Mooriſh families live in the midſt of theſe burning ſands, in a few places where ſprings, which are very ſcarce, have been found, and where it hath been poſſible to plant palm-trees and gather dates. Their chief employment conſiſts in collecting the gums, which have attracted the attention of all Europe upon that country. Theſe Moors carry to Upper Guinea, and principally to Bambouk, a great quantity of ſalt, in exchange for which they receive gold, and ſometimes ſlaves.

THE banks of the Niger, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, and thoſe of ſome leſs conſiderable rivers, which flow in that long ſpace that intervenes between theſe principal rivers, would prove extremely fertile if they were cultivated. The care of flocks conſtitutes almoſt the ſole employment of the inhabitants. They are fond of mare's milk, which is their principal nouriſhment; and travel but little, becauſe they have no wants to induce them to leave their country.

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THE inhabitants of Cape Monte, environed on every ſide by ſands, form a nation entirely ſeparated from the reſt of Africa. In the rice of their marſhes conſiſts all their nouriſhment and their ſole riches. Of this they ſell a ſmall quantity to the Europeans, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hard-ware.

FROM the Cape of Palmas to the river Volta, the inhabitants are traders and huſbandmen. They are huſbandmen, becauſe their land, though ſtony, abundantly requites the neceſſary labour and expence of clearing it. They are traders, becauſe they have behind them nations which furniſh them with gold, copper, ivory, and ſlaves; and becauſe nothing obſtructs a continued communication between the people of the inland country and thoſe of the coaſt. It is the ſole country in Africa, where, throughout a long ſpace, there are no deſerts or deep rivers to obſtruct the traveller, and where water and the means of ſubſiſtence may be found.

BETWEEN the river of Volta and that of Calbary, the coaſt is flat, fertile, populous, and cultivated. The country, which extends from Calbary to Gabon is very different. Almoſt totally covered with thick foreſts, producing little fruit and no corn, it may be ſaid to be rather inhabited by wild beaſts than by men. Though the rains be there very frequent and copious, as they muſt be under the Equator, the land is ſo ſandy, that immediately after the ſhowers are fallen, there remains not the leaſt appearance of moiſture.

To the ſouth of the line, and as far as Zara, the coaſt preſents an agreeable proſpect. Low at it's beginning, it gradually riſes, and exhibits a ſcene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees.

From Zara to Coanza, and ſtill further, the coaſt is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is an elevated plain, the ſoil of which is compoſed of a large, thick, and fertile ſand.

Beyond Coanza, and the Portugueze ſettlements, a barren region intervenes, of above two hundred leagues in extent, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long ſpace, there are no inhabitants know'n except the Cimbebes, with whom no intercourſe is kept up.

The varieties, obſervable on the ſhores of the weſt of Africa, do not prevent them from enjoying a very extraordinary, and, perhaps, a ſingular advantage. On this immenſe coaſt, thoſe tremendous rocks are no where ſeen, which are ſo alarming to the navigator. The ſea is univerſally calm, and the anchorage ſecure. Were it not for theſe advantages, it would be difficult to remain there, becauſe there are very few harbours, and becauſe the ſhips are obliged to anchor out at ſea, on account of the ſand banks, which are almoſt contiguous to each other.

The winds and currents, during ſix months of the year, from April to November, have nearly the ſame direction. To the ſouth of the line, the ſouth-

ſouth-eaſt wind predominates, and the direction of the currents is towards the north; and to the north of the line, the eaſt wind prevails, and the direction of the currents is towards the north-eaſt. During the ſix other months, ſtorms, by intervals, change the direction of the wind, but it no longer blows with the ſame violence: the ſpring of the air ſeems to be relaxed. The cauſe of this variation appears to influence the direction of the currents: to the north of the line they tend to the ſouth-weſt, beyond the line to the ſouth.

Idea of the ſeveral governments eſtabliſhed in Guinea.

THE revolutions which muſt have happened in the north of Africa, as well as in the other parts of the globe, are entirely unknow'n, and it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, in a region where the art of writing hath never penetrated. No tradition hath even been preſerved, which might ſerve as a baſis to conjectures well or ill founded. When the people of theſe regions are aſked, why they have ſuffered the remembrance of their fathers actions to be buried in oblivion; they anſwer, that it is of little conſequence to be informed in what manner the dead have lived; that the material thing is, that the living ſhould be virtuous. So indifferent are they about the paſt time, that they neglect even to keep an account of their annual revolutions. This would be, ſay they, to load one's memory with a uſeleſs calculation, ſince it would not preſerve us from death, and could not inform us how long we have to live. In ſpeaking, therefore, of this part of the world, we are obliged to count from the epochas of the arrival of the Europeans upon theſe ſhores.

We

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We muſt even confine ourſelves to the coaſts, ſince no traveller of any credit, hath ever penetrated into the inland parts of the country; and ſince our navigators have ſcarce extended their inquiries beyond the harbours where they took in their cargoes.

All their accounts affirm, that the know'n parts of this region are ſubject to an arbitrary government. Whether the deſpotic ſovereign aſcend the throne by right of birth, or by election, the people have no other law but his will.

But what will ſeem extraordinary to the inhabitants of Europe, where the great number of hereditary monarchies obſtructs the tranquillity of elective governments, and the proſperity of all free ſtates, is, that in Africa, the countries which are the leaſt liable to revolutions, are thoſe which have preſerved the right of electing their chiefs. This is uſually an old man, whoſe wiſdom is generally know'n. The manner in which this choice is made, is very ſimple; but it is only ſuited to very ſmall ſtates. In three days time, the people, by mutual conſent, meet at the houſe of that citizen who appears to them the moſt proper perſon to be their ſovereign. If the ſuffrages be divided, he who hath obtained the greateſt number of them, names on the fourth day one of thoſe who have had fewer voices than himſelf. Every freeman hath a right to vote. There are even ſome tribes where the women enjoy this privilege.

Such is, excepting the hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Juda, the manner in which that little group of ſtates, that are to the north of the line, is

formed. To the ſouth we meet with Mayumba and Cilingo, where chiefs are elected from among the miniſters of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female ſide; that is, the eldeſt ſon of the king's eldeſt ſiſter inherits the throne when it becomes vacant. Theſe people believe, that a child is much more certainly the ſon of his mother, than of the man whom ſhe marries: they truſt rather to the time of delivery, which they ſee, than to that of conception, of which they are not witneſſes.

These nations live in a total ignorance of that art ſo revered among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to obſerve ſome of it's formalities. The cuſtom of ſending embaſſies is familiar to them, whether to ſolicit aid againſt a powerful enemy, or to requeſt a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their ſucceſſes, upon the birth of a child, or upon the falling of a ſhower after a great drought. The envoy muſt never ſtay longer than a day at the place of his miſſion; nor travel during the night in the ſtates of a foreign prince. He is preceded by a drum, which announces from afar his dignity, and he is accompanied by five or ſix friends. In thoſe places where he ſtops to refreſh himſelf, he is received with reſpect; but he cannot depart before the ſun riſes, and without the ceremony of his hoſt aſſembling ſome perſons, to witneſs that no accident hath happened to him. In other reſpects, theſe people are ſtrangers to any negociations that are in the leaſt complicated. They never

never enter into any ſtipulations for the paſt, nor for the future; but confine themſelves wholly to the preſent. Hence we may conclude, that theſe nations cannot have any regular or ſettled connections with the other parts of the globe.

Manner of making war in Guinea.

THEIR ſyſtem of war is as little complicated as that of their politics. None of theſe governments retain troops in pay. Every freeman is by condition a ſoldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make excurſions in queſt of booty. The officers are choſen by the ſoldiers, and the choice is confirmed by the prince. The army marches, and moſt frequently the hoſtilities, which are begun in the morning, are terminated in the evening. At leaſt, the incurſion never continues for any length of time; for as they have no magazines, the want of ſubſiſtence obliges them to retire. It would prove a great misfortune to theſe people, if they were taught the art of keeping the field for a fortnight together.

THE deſire of extending their territories is not the cauſe of the diſturbances which frequently throw theſe countries into confuſion. An inſult committed in a ceremony, a clandeſtine or violent robbery, the rape of a daughter, theſe are the ordinary occaſions of a war. The day after the battle, each ſide redeems their reſpective priſoners. They are exchanged for merchandiſe, or for ſlaves. No portion of the territory is ever ceded, the whole belongs to the community, whoſe chief fixes the extent which every perſon is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

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THIS manner of terminating differences is not merely that of little ſtates, whoſe chiefs are too wiſe to aſpire after enlarging their dominions, and too much advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to theſe principles, with neighbours much weaker than themſelves. The ſovereign hath never any ſtanding army, and though he diſpoſes at pleaſure of the lives of the governors of his provinces, he preſcribes them no rules of adminiſtration. Theſe are petty princes, who, for fear of being ſuſpected of ambition, and puniſhed with death, live in concord with the elective colonies which ſurround them. Unanimity between the more conſiderable powers and the ſmaller ſtates, is preſerved as much by the great authority the prince hath over his ſubjects, as by the impoſſibility there is of his exerting it at pleaſure. He can only ſtrike a ſingle blow, or cauſe a ſingle head to be cut off. He may, indeed, command that his lieutenant ſhould be aſſaſſinated, and the whole province will obey his orders; but were he to command all the inhabitants of a province to be put to death, he would find no one ready to execute his orders; nor would he be able to excite any other province to take up arms againſt that which diſobeyed him. His power againſt individuals is unlimited; but he can do very little againſt the collective body.

ANOTHER reaſon which prevents the ſmall ſtates from being enſlaved by the great ones, is, that theſe people annex no idea to the glory of conqueſts. The only perſon who appears to have been

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been animated with it, was a ſlave broker, who from his infancy had frequented the European veſſels, and who in his riper years had made a voyage to Portugal. Every thing he ſaw and hear'd, fired his imagination, and taught him that a great name was frequently acquired by being the cauſe of great calamities. At his return into his country, he felt himſelf greatly humiliated at being obliged to obey people leſs enlightened than himſelf. His intrigues raiſed him to the dignity of chief of the Acanis, and he prevailed on them to take up arms againſt their neighbours. Nothing could oppoſe his valour, and his dominion extended over more than an hundred leagues of coaſt, of which Anamabou was the center. At his death no one dared to ſucceed him: and all the ſupports of his authority failing at once, every thing returned to it's former ſituation.

Modes of worſhip eſtabliſhed in Guinea.

THE Chriſtian and Mohammedan religions ſeem to have taken poſſeſſion of the two extremities of that part of the weſt of Africa which is frequented by the Europeans. The muſſulmen of Barbary have carried their religious ſyſtem to the people of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, who have extended it ſtill further. In proportion as theſe religious opinions have been diſtant from their ſource, they have undergone ſo great an alteration, that each kingdom, each village, each family, have maintained a different ſyſtem. Excepting circumciſion, which is univerſal, it would ſcarcely be imagined that theſe people profeſſed the ſame worſhip. This religion does not penetrate beyond the

the cape of Monte, the inhabitants of which have no communication with their neighbours.

What the Arabs had done to the north of the line for the Coran, the Portugueze afterwards did to the ſouth for the Goſpel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they eſtabliſhed it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worſhip, which offered ſure and eaſy means for the expiation of all crimes, was perfectly agreeable to the taſte of nations, whoſe religion did not afford them ſuch comfortable proſpects. If it was afterwards proſcribed in ſeveral ſtates, it was owen to the exceſſes of thoſe who propagated it, which drew upon it this diſgrace. It hath even been totally diſguiſed in the countries where it hath been preſerved; a few trifling ceremonies are the only remains of it.

The coaſts which are in the center have preſerved ſome local ſuperſtitions, the origin of which muſt be very antient. They conſiſt in the worſhip of that innumerable multitude of divinities or Fetiches, which every perſon makes after his own fancy, and for his own uſe; in the belief of auguries, trials by fire and boiling water, and in the power of Gris-Gris. There are ſome ſuperſtitions more dangerous; I mean that blind confidence which they repoſe in the prieſts, who are the miniſters and promoters of them. The correſpondence which they are ſuppoſed to hold with the evil ſpirit, makes them conſidered as the arbiters of the barrenneſs and fertility of the country. On this account the firſt fruits are always offered to them. All their other errors have

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have a ſocial tendency, and conſpire to render man more humane and peaceable.

Manners, cuſtoms, and occupations of the people of Guinea.

THE country is generally ill peopled. Habitations are ſeldom found any where but near rivers, lakes, and fountains. In thoſe countries, men are induced to live in a ſocial ſtate, rather from the ties of conſanguinity, than from any reciprocal wants. Accordingly, ſmall hamlets are found in the ſame town, and ſometimes in the ſame village, which are ſo many families, over which a patriarch preſides.

THERE are no traces to be found in theſe ſettlements, of any great progreſs in civilization. The houſes are conſtructed with branches of trees, or with ruſhes faſtened to ſtakes, which are driven far enough into the ground to reſiſt the winds. Windows are ſeldom ſeen in them. The covering of the houſe conſiſts only of leaves, and if they can be obtained, of the leaves of the palm-tree, which are more proper than others to bear the inclemency of the ſeaſons. The huts of the capital, thoſe even of the Deſpot, are ſcarce diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, except by their extent. Theſe people are not prevented from forming other conſtructions, by a want of the beſt and the fineſt wood, which they poſſeſs in abundance, nor of earth proper to make bricks; but they have never had an idea, that it was neceſſary to take ſo much trouble to lodge themſelves.

THE furniture is conſiſtent with the dwelling. In the towns, in the country, in the habitation of the prince, as well as that of the meaneſt citizens, it conſiſts only of baſkets, a few earthen pots,

pots, and ſome utenſils made out of gourds. The only difference is, that the poor ſleep upon mats, and the rich upon European carpets.

THEIR food is likewiſe the ſame. Rice, caſſava, maize, yams, or potatoes, according to the nature of the ſoil; wild fruits, palm-wine, game and fiſh, which all perſons get according to their inclination: ſuch is the food which they all live upon, the ſlaves not excepted.

A GIRDLE tied acroſs their loins, and which we call a *pagne*, is the only clothing of both ſexes. Glaſs beads, which are brought to them, and ſold very dear, compoſe the ornaments of moſt of the women, and of the few men who wiſh to make themſelves remarkable.

THE arts are very trifling in theſe regions. None are know'n but thoſe which are commonly found in a riſing ſociety, and even thoſe are in their infancy. The ingenuity of a carpenter conſiſts only in building huts. The blackſmith hath no other tools than a ſmall hammer and a wooden anvil, to work the iron which is ſent from Europe. The potter makes ſome clumſy veſſels, and ſome pipes of clay, without the aſſiſtance of a mould. The *pagnes* are made only of a plant, which grows naturally, and requires no preparation: the length of it conſtitutes the breadth of the piece. The weaver works it upon his lap, without either loom or ſhuttle, by paſſing the tram with his fingers between each of the threads of the chain, in the ſame manner as our baſket-makers make their hurdles. The inhabitants of the country carry ſalt to the moſt diſtant places;

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and ſeparate it from the ſea water by means of a great fire. The ſlaves, and a ſmall number of free men, are employed in theſe ſedentary labours; the reſt live in a ſtate of habitual indolence. If they ſhould be rouzed from this lethargy by ſome caprice, or by weariſomeneſs, it is only to go a hunting or a fiſhing. They never demean themſelves ſo far as to cultivate the ground. Agriculture, conſidered as the meaneſt of occupations, is left to the women, to whom they allow no greater comfort, than the liberty of reſting one day, after three days of exceſſive fatigue.

The people of Guinea have manners very ſimilar to each other. Polygamy is authorized throughout the whole extent of this vaſt region. It muſt, however, be very uncommonly practiſed, ſince all the free men, and moſt of the ſlaves, find companions for themſelves. The young men conſult nothing but their own inclination in their marriage; but their ſiſters muſt have the conſent of their mothers. The marriage tie is generally reſpected; nothing but adultery can diſſolve it, and this is very uncommon. On the coaſt of Angola only, the daughters of the chiefs of the ſtate are allowed to chooſe the huſband they like beſt, even if he ſhould be engaged; they may prevent him from taking another wife; they may be divorced from him when he diſpleaſes them; and may even cauſe his head to be ſtricken off, if he be inconſtant. Theſe princeſſes, if they may be ſo called, enjoy their privileges with a diſdainful haughtineſs, and a great

deal of ſeverity, as if they meant to be revenged upon the unfortunate man who is under their authority, for the ſpecies of ſlavery to which their ſex is condemned.

THEIR fate is indeed deplorable. Beſides being employed in the labours of the field, the women are alſo obliged to attend to the domeſtic employments. It reſts upon them alone to provide for the ſubſiſtence, and to ſupply all the wants of their families. They never appear before their huſbands but in a humiliating poſture; they always wait upon him at table; and retire afterwards to feed upon what he either could not, or would not eat. This ſtate of labour and humiliation is not confined to the common people; the women in the towns; the wives of the rich, of the great; and even of the ſovereigns; are in the ſame condition; they derive neither comfort nor prerogative from the rank or the opulence of their huſbands.

WHILE they waſte in the ſervice of their tyrants the ſmall proportion of ſtrength beſtowed upon them by nature, theſe barbarians ſpend their uſeleſs days in a ſtate of total inaction. Aſſembled under thick foliages, they paſs their time in ſmoking, ſinging, or dancing. The ſame amuſements are repeated every day; and their pleaſures are never interrupted by diſputes. A decency and propriety prevail in them, which could not reaſonably be expected from a people ſo little enlightened.

THEIR diſintereſtedneſs is a no leſs ſurpriſing circumſtance. If we except the coaſts, where the

example of our robberies have made them robbers, a great indifference for riches is obſerved in all parts. Even the wiſeſt among them ſeldom think of the morrow; and, accordingly, hoſpitality is the virtue univerſally practiſed. The man who ſhould not divide the game or the fiſh he had caught with his neighbours, his relations, and his friends, would draw upon himſelf the public contempt. With them, the reproach of avarice is beyond any other. It is beſtowed upon the Europeans, who give nothing without a compenſation; which induces theſe Africans to call them *cloſe fiſted*.

Such is the general character of the people of Guinea. It now remains to ſpeak of the cuſtoms which diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of one country thoſe of another.

On the banks of the Niger, the women are generally handſome, if beauty may be ſaid to conſiſt in ſymmetry of proportion and not in colour. Modeſt, affable, and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks, and their language is an indication of their baſhfulneſs. The names of Zilia, Calypſo, Fanny, Zama, which ſeem to be names of voluptuouſneſs, are pronounced with an inflection of voice, of the ſoftneſs and ſweetneſs of which our organs are not ſuſceptible. The men are of a proper ſize, their ſkin is as black as ebony, and their features and countenances pleaſing. The habit of taming horſes, and hunting wild beaſts, gives them an air of dignity. They do not eaſily put up with an affront, but the example of thoſe animals

they have reared, inſpires them with boundleſs gratitude for a maſter who treats them with indulgence. It is impoſſible to find ſervants more attentive, more ſober, and who have ſtronger attachments; but they do not make good huſbandmen; becauſe their body is not habituated to ſtoop and bend towards the ground, in order to clear it.

The complexion of the Africans degenerates towards the Eaſt. The people of this climate are ſtrong, but ſhort. They have an air of ſtrength, which is denoted by firm muſcles; and the features of their faces are ſpread out, but have no expreſſion. The figures impreſſed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increaſe their natural deformity. An ungrateful ſoil, which is not improveable by culture, hath forced them to have recourſe to fiſhing, though the ſea, which they can ſcarce venture upon on account of a bar that runs along the coaſt, ſeems to divert them from it. Thus repulſed, as it were, by theſe two elements, they have ſought for aid among adjacent nations more favoured by nature; from whom they have derived their ſubſiſtence by ſelling them ſalt. A ſpirit of traffic hath been diffuſed among them ſince the arrival of the Europeans; becauſe ideas are unfolded in all men in proportion to the variety of objects that are preſented to them; and becauſe more combinations are neceſſary to barter a ſlave for ſeveral ſorts of merchandize, than to ſell a buſhel of ſalt. Though they be well adapted to all employments where ſtrength only is required, yet they are unfit for the internal

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duties of domeſtic life. This condition of life is repugnant to their cuſtoms, according to which they are paid ſeparately for every thing they do. And, indeed, the reciprocation of daily labour and daily recompence is, perhaps, one of the beſt incentives to induſtry among all men. The wives of theſe mercantile Negroes have neither the amiableneſs, modeſty, diſcretion, nor beauty of the women of the Niger, and they appear to have leſs ſenſibility. On comparing the two nations, it might, perhaps, be imagined, that the one conſiſted of the loweſt claſs of people in a poliſhed and civilized city, and that the other had enjoyed the advantages of ſuperior education. Their language is a ſtrong indication of their character. The accents of the one have an extreme ſweetneſs, thoſe of the other are harſh and dry like the ſoil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleaſures, reſembles the furious tranſports of anger.

Beyond the river Volta, in Benin, and in the other countries, know'n under the general name of the Gold Coaſt, the people have a ſmooth ſkin, and are of a dark black colour; their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling ſtature, but well ſhaped, and have a haughty countenance. Their faces, though agreeable enough, would be much more ſo, if the women were not uſed to ſcar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. The baſis of their creed is a metempſychoſis of a peculiar kind: they believe, that in whatever place they remove to, or wherever they are tranſported, they ſhall return after their death, whether cauſed by the

the laws of nature, or by their own hands, to their native country. This conviction conſtitutes their happineſs; becauſe they conſider their country as the moſt delightful abode in the univerſe. This pleaſing error conduces to humanize them. Foreigners, who reſide in this climate, are treated with reſpectful civility, from a perſuaſion that they are come there to receive the recompence due to their good conduct. Theſe people have a diſpoſition to cheerfulneſs not obſervable in the neighbouring nations; they are inclined to labour, have principles of equity ſeldom altered by circumſtances, and a great facility of adapting themſelves to foreign manners. They are tenacious of their commercial cuſtoms, even when they are not advantageous to them. The method of trafficking with them was, for a long time, the ſame that had been at firſt practiſed among them. The firſt veſſel that arrived, diſpoſed of it's cargo before another was permitted to trade. Each had it's turn. The commodities were ſold at the ſame fixed price to all. It is but very lately that the nation had reſolved to avail itſelf of the advantages it might derive from the competition between the European nations frequenting it's ports.

The people ſituated between the line and Zara, have all a great reſemblance to each other. They are well made. Their bodies are leſs robuſt than thoſe of the inhabitants to the north of the equator; and though there be ſome marks on their faces, none of thoſe ſcars are to be perceived which are ſo ſhocking at firſt ſight. Their

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feaſts are accompanied with military ſports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe they conſtituted the exerciſes of a warlike nation, whereas in Africa they are the amuſements of a timid people. The women are not admitted to theſe public diverſions. Aſſembled together in certain houſes, they ſpend their day in private; and no men are ever admitted into their ſociety. The pride of rank is the ſtrongeſt paſſion of theſe people, who are naturally peaceable. A certain degree of ceremony obtains both at the court of princes and in private life. Upon the moſt trivial occurrences, they haſten to their friends, either to congratulate them or to condole with them. A marriage occaſions viſiting for three months. The funeral obſequies of a perſon of diſtinction continue ſometimes two years. Thoſe who were connected to him, in any degree, carry his remains through ſeveral provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed, and no perſon departs, till the corps is depoſited in the tomb, with all the demonſtrations of the deepeſt ſorrow. So determined a taſte for ceremony, hath proved favourable to ſuperſtition, and ſuperſtition hath promoted a ſpirit of indolence.

From Zara to the river of Coanza, the ancient cuſtoms ſtill remain; but they are blended with a confuſed mixture of European manners, which are not to be found elſewhere. It is probable that the Portugueze, who have large ſettlements in this country, and who were deſirous of introducing the Chriſtian religion among them, had a greater intercourſe

intercourſe with them than other nations, who having only factories to the north of the line, have been entirely engaged in carrying on their commerce.

The reader need not be told, that all we have related concerning the people of Guinea, ought only to be applied to that claſs which, in all countries, ſtamps the character of a nation. The inferior orders and ſlaves are further removed from this reſemblance, in proportion as they are debaſed or degraded by their occupations or their conditions. The moſt diſcerning inquirers have, however, imagined that the difference of conditions did not produce in this people varieties ſo diſtinguiſhable as we find in the ſtates which are ſituated between the Elbe and the Tiber, which exhibit nearly the ſame extent of coaſt as the diſtance between the Niger and the Coanza. The further men depart from nature, the leſs muſt they reſemble one another. Nature is a ſtreight line, from which there are various ways of deviating. The counſels of nature are ſpeedy and tolerably uniform; but the ſuggeſtions ariſing from taſte, from fancy, from caprice, from perſonal intereſt, from circumſtances, from paſſions, from the accidental events of health or ſickneſs, and even from dreams, are ſo numerous and ſo various, that they are not, neither can they ever be exhauſted. One violent man is ſufficient to lead a thouſand more aſtray, from motives of condeſcenſion, flattery, or imitation. If a woman of rank be deſirous of concealing ſome natural defect, ſhe immediately contrives ſome-

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ſomething for that purpoſe. This is ſoon adopted by her companions, though they have not the ſame reaſon for it. Thus it is, that from one eccentric circle to another, a faſhion is extended, and becomes national. This inſtance is ſufficient to explain an infinite number of ſingularities, which our ſagacity would in vain be tortured in finding out the reaſons of, in the wants, the pains, or pleaſures of mankind. The diverſity of civil and moral inſtitutions, which often are neither more combined, nor leſs caſual, alſo neceſſarily occaſions a difference in the moral character and in the natural cuſtoms of men, which is unknow'n to ſocieties leſs complicated. Beſides, nature being more powerful under the torrid than under the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of manners to exert itſelf ſo ſtrongly. Men in theſe countries bear a greater ſimilitude to one another, becauſe they owe every thing to nature, and very little to art. In Europe, an extenſive and diverſified commerce, varying and multiplying the enjoyments, the fortunes, and ſeveral conditions of men, adds likewiſe to the differences which the climate, the laws, and the common prejudices have eſtabliſhed among active and laborious nations.

Ancient ſtate of the trade of Guinea.

In Guinea, trade hath never been able to cauſe a material alteration in the manners of it's inhabitants. It formerly conſiſted only of certain exchanges of ſalt and dried fiſh, which were conſumed by the nations remote from the coaſt. Theſe gave in return ſtuffs made of a kind of thread, which was only a woody ſubſtance, cloſely

cloſely adhering to the inner ſide of the bark of a tree peculiar to theſe climates. The air hardens it, and renders it fit for every kind of weaving. Bonnets, ſcarfs, and aprons to ſerve for girdles, are made of it, which vary in ſhape according to the particular mode of each nation. The natural colour of the thread is a pale grey. The dew, which bleaches our flax, gives it a citron colour, which rich people prefer. The black dye, generally uſed among the people, is extracted from the bark of the tree of which this thread is made, by ſimple infuſion in water.

The firſt Europeans, who frequented the weſtern coaſts of Africa, fixed a price on wax, ivory, gum, and wood for dying, which, before that time, had been thought of little value. A ſmall quantity of gold, which had been formerly carried off by caravans from the ſtates of Barbary, was likewiſe given in exchange to their navigators. This gold came from the inland parts, and chiefly from Bambouk, an ariſtocratic ſtate, under the twelfth and thirteenth degrees of north latitude, and where each village was governed by a chief called Farim. This rich metal is ſo common in this country, that it is found almoſt indiſcriminately every where, merely by ſcraping the ſurface of the earth, which is clayiſh, light, and mixed with ſand. When the mine is very rich, it is digged only to the depth of a few feet; and never deeper; though it hath been obſerved, that the lower it was digged, the more gold it afforded. The people are too indolent to purſue a toil which conſtantly becomes more fatiguing, and too

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too ignorant to prevent the inconveniences it would be attended with. Their negligence and their folly are ſo extraordinary, that in waſhing the gold, in order to ſeparate it from the earth, they only preſerve the larger pieces: the light parts paſs away with the water, which flows down an inclined plain.

The inhabitants of Bambouk do not work theſe mines at all times, nor are they at liberty to do it when they chooſe. They are obliged to wait till private or public wants determine the Farims to grant this permiſſion. When it is proclaimed, all who are able to avail themſelves of this advantage meet at the appointed place. When their work is finiſhed, a diviſion is made. Half of the gold goes to the lord, and the remainder is equally diſtributed among the labourers. Thoſe who want gold at any other time than that of the general digging, ſearch for it in the beds of the torrents, where it is very common.

Several Europeans have endeavoured to penetrate into a region which contains ſo many treaſures. Two or three of them, who had ſucceeded in approaching the coaſt, were unmercifully repulſed. M. David, governor of the French in Senegal, in 1740, thought of ſending a prince of that country, in order to lay waſte the borders of the Felemé, from whence Bambouk received all it's proviſions. This unfortunate country was upon the point of being deſtroyed, in the midſt of it's piles of gold, when the author of this calamity propoſed to them, that he would ſend them proviſions from Fort Galam, which was only at forty

forty leagues diſtance, if they would conſent to receive him, and permit his people to work the mines. Theſe conditions were accepted, and the obſervance of them was again ſwor'n to the author of the propoſal, who went himſelf to thoſe provinces four years after; but the treaty produced no effect. Only the remembrance of the hardſhips that had been endured, and of thoſe that had been apprehended, determined the people to cultivate a ſoil, which had produced, till then, nothing but metals. It ſeems that the gold hath been abandoned, and that the attention of all men hath been turned to the ſlave trade.

The commerce of Guinea hath been extended by the ſale of ſlaves.

THE property which ſome men have acquired over others in Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally eſtabliſhed there, excepting in ſome ſmall diſtricts, where liberty hath, as it were, retired and is ſtill maintained. No proprietor, however, hath a right to ſell a man who is born in a ſtate of ſervitude. He can only diſpoſe of thoſe ſlaves whom he gets, either by war, in which every priſoner is a ſlave unleſs exchanged, or in lieu of compenſation for ſome injury; or if he hath received them as a teſtimony of acknowlegment. This law, which ſeems to be made in favour of one who is born a ſlave, to indulge him in the enjoyment of his family and of his country, is yet ineffectual, ſince the Europeans have eſtabliſhed luxury on the coaſts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually diſ-

ſemble,

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ſemble, in order to be reciprocally condemned, each in his turn, to a fine, which is paid in perſons born ſlaves, the diſpoſal of whom is allowed by the ſanction of the ſame law.

CORRUPTION, contrary to it's ordinary progreſs, hath advanced from private perſons to princes. The procuring of ſlaves hath given frequent occaſion to wars, as they are excited in Europe, in order to obtain ſoldiers. The cuſtom has been eſtabliſhed of puniſhing with ſlavery, not only thoſe who have attempted the lives or properties of citizens, but thoſe alſo who were incapaple of paying their debts, and thoſe who have violated conjugal faith. This puniſhment, in proceſs of time, has been inflicted for the moſt trivial offences, after having been at firſt reſerved only for the greateſt crimes. Prohibitions, even of things indifferent, have been conſtantly multiplied, in order to increaſe the revenues raiſed from the fines, by increaſing the number of offences. Injuſtice hath know'n no bounds or reſtraints. At a great diſtance from the coaſt there are chiefs, who give orders for every thing they meet with in the villages around them to be carried off. The children are throw'n into ſacks: the men and women are gagged to ſtifle their cries. If the ravagers ſhould be ſtopped by a ſuperior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always diſowns the commiſſion he hath given, and, under pretence of doing juſtice, inſtantly ſells his agents to the ſhips he hath treated with.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe infamous arts, the people of the coaſt have found it impoſſible to ſupply the demands of the merchants. They have experienced what every nation muſt, that can trade only with it's ſpecie. Slaves are to the commerce of the Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on in the New World. The heads of the Negroes repreſent the ſpecie of the ſtate of Guinea. Every day this ſpecie is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of conſumption. Their capital gradually vaniſhes, becauſe it cannot be renewed, by reaſon of the ſpeedy conſumptions. Thus the trade for blacks would long ſince have been entirely loſt, if the inhabitants of the coaſts had not imparted their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whence they now draw the greateſt part of the ſlaves that are put into our hands. Thus the trade of the Europeans, by gradual advances, hath almoſt exhauſted the only vendible commodities of this nation.

IN the ſpace of twenty years this circumſtance hath raiſed the price of ſlaves almoſt to four times above the former coſt. The reaſon is this: the ſlaves are chiefly paid for in merchandize from the Eaſt Indies, which hath doubled it's value in Europe. A double quantity of theſe goods muſt be given in Africa. Thus the colonies of America, where the ſale for blacks is concluded, are obliged to ſupport theſe ſeveral augmentations, and conſequently to pay four times more than they formerly did.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the diſtant proprietor who ſells his ſlave, receives a leſs quantity of merchandize than the perſon received fifty years ago, who ſold his ſlave in the neighbourhood of the coaſt. The profits intercepted by paſſing through different hands, the expences of tranſport, the impoſts, ſometimes of three per cent. that muſt be paid to thoſe princes through whoſe territories they paſs, ſink the difference betwixt the ſum which the firſt proprietor receives, and that which the European trader pays. Theſe expences continually increaſe on account of the great diſtances of the places where there are ſtill ſlaves to be ſold. The further off the firſt ſale is, the greater will be the difficulties attending the journey. They will become ſuch, that of the ſum which the European merchant will be able to pay, there will remain ſo little to offer to the firſt ſeller, that he will rather chooſe to keep his ſlave. All trade of this kind will then be at an end. In order, therefore, to ſupport it effectually, our traders muſt furniſh at an exorbitant price, and ſell in proportion to the colonies; which, on their part, not being able to diſpoſe of their produce but at a very advanced price, will no longer find a conſumption for it. But till that time comes, which is, perhaps, not ſo diſtant as the coloniſts may imagine, they will, without the leaſt remorſe, continue to make the lives and labours of the Negroes ſubſervient to their intereſts. They will find navigators who will hazard the purchaſing of them, and theſe will meet with tyrants who will ſell them.

Slave merchants collect themſelves into companies, and forming a ſpecies of caravans, in the ſpace of two or three hundred leagues they conduct ſeveral files of thirty or forty ſlaves, all laden with water and corn, which are neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence in thoſe barren deſerts through which they paſs. The manner of ſecuring them without much incommoding their march, is ingeniouſly contrived. A fork of wood, from eight to nine feet long, is put round the neck of each ſlave. A pin of iron, riveted, ſecures the fork at the back part in ſuch a manner that the head cannot diſengage itſelf. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before, and ſo embarraſſes the perſon who is tied to it, that though he hath his arms and legs at liberty, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the ſlaves on the ſame line, and ſupport and tie the extremity of each fork on the ſhoulder of the foremoſt ſlave, and proceed in this manner from one to another, till they come to the firſt, the extremity of whoſe fork is carried by one of the guides. Few reſtraints are impoſed that are not felt by the perſons who impoſe them. In order that theſe traders may enjoy the refreſhment of ſleep without uneaſineſs, they tie the arms of every ſlave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition he can neither run away nor make any attempt to recover his liberty. Theſe precautions have been found indiſpenſible, becauſe, if the ſlave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which ſecures to the proprietor the poſſeſſion of

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his ſlave, and which at all times delivers him up into his hands, is ſilent with regard to a ſlave and a trader who exerciſes the moſt contemptible of all profeſſions.

READER, while thou art peruſing this horrid account, is not thy ſoul filled with the ſame indignation, as I experience in writing it? Doſt thou not, in imagination, ruſh with fury upon thoſe infamous conductors? Doſt thou not break thoſe forks with which theſe unfortunate people are confined? and doſt thou not reſtore them to their liberty?

GREAT numbers of ſlaves arrive together, eſpecially when they come from diſtant countries. This arrangement is neceſſary, in order to diminiſh the expence which is unavoidable in conducting them. The interval between one journey and another, which by this ſyſtem of œconomy is already made too diſtant, may become ſtill greater by particular circumſtances. The moſt uſual are the rains, which cauſe the rivers to overflow, and put a ſtop to this trade. The ſeaſon moſt favourable for travelling in the interior parts of Africa, is from February to September; and it is from September to March, that the return of theſe ſlave-traders produces the greateſt plenty of this traffic on the coaſts.

Account of the Coaſts where foreign navigators land in ſearch of ſlaves.

THE trade of the Europeans is carried on to the ſouth and north of the line. The firſt coaſt begins at Cape Blanco, very near this are Arguin and Portendic. The Portugueze diſcovered them in 1444, and ſettled there the next year. They were deprived of them in 1638 by the Dutch, who,

who, in their turn ceded them to the Engliſh in 1666, from whom they recovered them ſome months after. Lewis XIV. again drove them away in the beginning of 1678, and contented himſelf with having the works deſtroyed.

At this period, Frederic William, that great elector of Brandenburg, was meditating upon the means of improving his dominions, which till then had been inceſſantly ruined by wars, which were ſeldom interrupted. Some Dutch merchants, diſcontented with the monopoly, which excluded them from the weſtern parts of Africa, perſuaded him to build forts in this immenſe diſtrict, and to have ſlaves purchaſed there, which would be ſold to advantage in the New World. This ſcheme was thought to be uſeful, and the company formed to carry it on obtained, in 1682, three ſettlements on the Gold Coaſt, and one in the Iſland of Arguin, three years afterwards. This new body was ſucceſſively ruined by the oppoſitions of the rival nations, by the unfaithfulneſs or the inexperience of it's agents, and by the depredations of the pirates. As nothing but the name of them was remaining, the King of Pruſſia ſold, in 1717 to the Dutch Company, poſſeſſions which had been long uſeleſs to him. Theſe republicans had not yet taken poſſeſſion of Arguin, when it was again attacked in 1721, and taken by the orders of the court of Verſailles, who had been maintained in that conqueſt by the treaty of Nimeguen. The Dutch ſoon after planted their flag there, but were obliged to take it down again in 1724.

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From that period, to 1763, France remained in quiet poſſeſſion of theſe forts. The Britiſh miniſtry, who had required the ſacrifice of the Niger, inſiſted, beſides, that they ſhould be dependent upon it. This pretenſion does not appear to us to be well founded. It is only neceſſary to ſee the grants made to the ſocieties, which have ſucceſſively exerciſed the monopoly in Senegal, to be convinced that Arguin and Portendic, were never comprehended in their charter. England, however, doth not permit the French, nor other navigators, to approach theſe latitudes; even it's own ſubjects go there no more, ſince thoſe precious gums, from which they have acquired ſome importance, have been conveyed by the Niger.

This river, which is more commonly called Senegal, is very conſiderable, is reckoned by ſome geographers to have more than eight hundred leagues of extent. It hath been proved, that from June to November, it is navigable throughout a ſpace of three hundred and twenty leagues. The bar, which runs acroſs the mouth of the river, prohibits the entrance of it to all ſhips which draw more than eight or nine feet of water. The other ſhips are obliged to caſt anchor very near this ſpot, in an exceeding good bottom. Their cargoes are brought to them in light veſſels from Fort St. Lewis, which is built in a ſmall iſland near the ſea. They conſiſt only of the gums which have been collected during the year, and of twelve or fifteen hundred ſlaves. The gums are ſent from the left ſhore, and the

ſlaves

ſlaves from the right, which is the only one that can be ſaid to be peopled, ſince the tyrants of Morocco have extended their ferocious ſway to theſe regions.

SINCE the peace of 1763 hath aſſured to Great Britain the poſſeſſion of Senegal, the conqueſt of which was made by it's navy during the courſe of the war, the French are confined to the coaſt which begins at Cape Blanco, and terminates at the river Gambia. Although they have not been diſturbed in the claim they have to the right of an excluſive trade through that immenſe ſpace, yet they have ſcarcely received annually from their factories of Zoal, Portudal, and Albreda, three or four hundred ſlaves. Goree, which is only a league diſtant from the continent, and which is no more than four hundred toiſes in length, and one hundred in breadth, is the chief of theſe wretched ſettlements. During the hoſtilities begun in 1756, this iſland, which hath a good harbour, and which may be eaſily defended, fell into the hands of the Engliſh; but the ſubſequent treaties reſtored it to it's antient maſters.

TILL the year 1772, this country had been open to all the traders of the nation. At this period, a reſtleſs and turbulent man perſuaded ſome credulous citizens, that it would be an eaſy matter to get to Bambouk, and to other mines of equal wealth. An ignorant adminiſtration encouraged the illuſion, by granting an excluſive privilege; and conſiderable ſums were expended in purſuit of this chimerical proſpect. The direction of this monopoly, two years after, paſſed into the

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hands of more prudent men, who confined themſelves to the purchaſe of the ſlaves that are to be brought to Cayenne, where the company have obtained an immenſe territory.

The river Gambia would be navigable for the ſpace of two hundred leagues for veſſels of a conſiderable ſize; but they all ſtop at the diſtance of eight or ten leagues from the mouth of that river at Fort James. This ſettlement, which hath been conquered, ranſomed, and pillaged ſeven or eight times in the courſe of a century, is ſituated in an iſland, which is not a mile in circumference. The Engliſh trade annually there for three thouſand ſlaves, which come moſtly, as at Senegal, from very diſtant and inland countries.

The ten Cape de Verd Iſlands, at no great diſtance from the ſhores, and of which Sant-Yago is the principal, were diſcovered by the Portugueze about the year 1449. This ſmall Archipelago, which, though much divided, hilly and not well watered, would be able to furniſh all the productions of the New World, ſcarce ſupplies ſufficient ſubſiſtence to the few Negroes, moſt of them free, who have eſcaped from a ſyſtem of tyranny continued for four centuries. The weight of the fetters which oppreſs them was rendered ſtill more burthenſome, when they were put under the power of a company which had the excluſive right both of ſupplying all their wants, and of purchaſing the commodities they had to ſell. Accordingly, the exports of that ſoil, though of tolerable extent, were reduced for Europe to the plant know'n by the name of Perella, which is made uſe

uſe of in dying ſcarlet; to a few oxen and mules for America, and for that part of Africa, which is ſubject to the court of Liſbon; to a ſmall quantity of ſugar, and to ſeveral pagnes of cotton. The fate of this unfortunate country was not to be altered. No one could appeal in it's favour, while from the general to the ſoldier, from the biſhop to the curate, every man was in the pay of the company, which was at length aboliſhed.

Several Portugueze who had gone to the Cape de Verd Iſlands, ſoon arrived upon the banks of the river of Caſamane and Cacheo, and upon the largeſt of the Biſſagos iſlands. Their deſcendants degenerated ſo much in proceſs of time, that they ſcarce differed from the natives. They have always preſerved, however, the ambition of conſidering themſelves as ſovereigns of the country, where they had built three villages and two ſmall forts. The rival nations have paid very little reſpect to this pretenſion, and have diſcontinued to trade in competition with the veſſels arrived from the Cape de Verd Iſlands, from the Brazils and from Liſbon.

Serre-Leone is not under the Britiſh dominion, although the ſubjects of that power have concentrated almoſt all the commercial tranſactions in two private factories, very antiently eſtabliſhed. Excluſive of the wax, ivory, and gold, which are found there, they receive annually four or five thouſand ſlaves, either from this or from the neighbouring rivers.

Next to this mart, we meet with the Grain Coaſt, and the Ivory Coaſt, which occupy the

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ſpace of one hundred and fifty leagues. Rice, ivory, and ſlaves, are purchaſed there. The navigators, from temporary factories upon ſome of theſe coaſts, moſt frequently wait at anchor 'till the blacks come of their own accord, upon their canoes, to propoſe the things they mean to barter. It is ſaid, that this cuſtom hath been eſtabliſhed, ſince repeated acts of ferociouſneſs have evinced the danger of diſembarking.

THE Engliſh ſince formed a ſettlement at the Cape of Apolonia, where the ſlave trade is conſiderable; but they have not yet obtained an excluſive commerce, which they wiſhed for, and which, perhaps, they flattered themſelves they ſhould obtain.

AFTER Cape Apolonia begins the Gold Coaſt, which terminates at the river Volta. It is one hundred and thirty leagues in extent. As the country is divided into a great many ſmall ſtates, and as the inhabitants are the moſt robuſt men of Guinea, the factories of the commercial nations of Europe have been exceedingly multiplied here. Five of them belong to the Danes; twelve or thirteen, of which St. George de la Mina is the capital, belong to the Dutch; and the Engliſh have conquered, or formed, nine or ten of them, the chief of which is Cape Corſo. The French, who ſaw themſelves, with regret, excluded from a region abounding in ſlaves, attempted, in 1749, to appropriate Anamabou to themſelves. They were fortifying themſelves in it, with the conſent of the natives of the country, when their workmen were driven away by the cannon of the ſhips

ſhips of Great Britain. An able merchant, who was then at London, upon the news of this outrage, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at a conduct ſo imprudent. *Sir*, ſaid a miniſter to him, who was in great favour with this enlightened people, *if we were to be juſt to the French, we ſhould not exiſt thirty years longer*. At this period the Engliſh formed a firm eſtabliſhment at Anamabou, and ſince that time they have never ſuffered any competitor in this important market.

At the diſtance of eight leagues from the river Volta is Kela, which abounds in articles of ſubſiſtence. There it is that the navigators go to ſupply themſelves with proviſions; and from thence it is that they ſend their canoes, or boats, in ſearch of proper places to eſtabliſh their trade in.

The Little Popo often attracts them. The Engliſh and the French frequent this latitude; but the Portugueze reſort there in ſtill greater numbers, for the following reaſon:

The people who formerly held the ſway in Africa, were reduced, in proceſs of time, to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs, that, in order to preſerve the liberty of trading on the Gold Coaſt, they agreed to pay the tenth of their cargoes to the Dutch. This ſhameful tribute, which hath always been paid regularly, was ſo diſadvantageous to the privateers of Bahia and of Fernambucca, the only ones that frequent that coaſt, that they agreed among themſelves, that no more than one veſſel of each of theſe two provinces ſhould ever be in any

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any port. The reſt remain at Little Popo, till their turn for trading comes about.

JUIDA, at fourteen leagues diſtance from the Little Popo, is famous for the number and the quality of the ſlaves which come from thence. It is open only to the Engliſh, the French, and the Portugueze. Each of theſe nations hath a fort there, built in the iſland of Gregoi, two miles from the ſhore. The chiefs of theſe factories undertake, every year, a journey of thirty leagues, in order to carry to the ſovereign of the country preſents, which he receives, and requires as an homage.

AT the diſtance of eight leagues from Juida, is Epée; where there are ſometimes a great many ſlaves, but moſt commonly none. Accordingly, this harbour is frequently void of ſhips.

A LITTLE beyond this is Porto Novo. The trade, which in other places is ſettled on the ſea-coaſt, is carried on here in the inland parts, at ſeven leagues from the ſhore. This inconvenience made it languid for a long time, but it is now very conſiderable. The paſſion for the tobacco of Brazil, which is ſtill more prevailing at this place than in any other part of the coaſt, gives a conſiderable ſuperiority to the Portugueze. The Engliſh and French are obliged to form their cargoes from the refuſe of their's.

BADAGRY is only at three leagues diſtance from Porto Novo. A great many ſlaves are brought there. At the time when all nations were admitted, the navigators could only make their pur-

chaſes, and diſpoſe of their cargoes, one after the other; but ſince the Engliſh and the Dutch are ſecluded, the French and the Portugueze are allowed to trade in competition, becauſe their merchandizes are very different. This is the part of the coaſt the moſt frequented by French privateers.

AHONI, which is ſeparated from Badagry by an interval of fourteen or fifteen leagues, is ſituated in the iſlands of Curamo, in a difficult, marſhy, and unhealthy port. This mart is principally, almoſt excluſively indeed, frequented by the Engliſh, who come there in large ſloops, and carry on their trade between the iſlands and the neighbouring continent.

FROM the river Volta to this Archipelago, the coaſt is inacceſſible. A ſand-bank, againſt which the waves of the ſea break with great violence, obliges the navigators, who are attracted to theſe latitudes by the hopes of gain, to make uſe of Indian boats, and of the natives of the country, to land their cargoes, and to bring back the goods they receive in exchange. Their veſſels are ſafely anchored upon an exceeding good bottom, at the diſtance of three or four leagues from the coaſt.

THE river of Benin, which abounds in ivory and in ſlaves, receives ſome ſhips. It's trade is fallen almoſt entirely into the hands of the Engliſh. The French and the Dutch have been diſguſted with the character of the natives, who are indeed leſs ſavage than thoſe of the neighbouring countries, but ſo extremely capricious, that it is never

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never know'n what kind of merchandize they will chooſe to accept in exchange.

AFTER Cape Formoſa, are the Old and the New Calbary. The coaſt is low, under water for ſix months in the year, and very unwholeſome. All the water is tainted; ſhipwrecks are frequent there, and whole crews are ſometimes the victims of the intemperance of the climate. Theſe various calamities have not been able to prevent the navigators of Great Britain from frequenting theſe dangerous latitudes. They purchaſe there, every year, ſeven or eight thouſand blacks, but at a very low price. The French, who formerly ſeldom reſorted to theſe marts, now begin to land there in greater numbers. The ſhips which draw above twelve feet water, are obliged to caſt anchor near the iſland of Panis, where the chief of theſe barbarous countries reſides, and where he hath draw'n a conſiderable trade.

TRADE is much more briſk on the Gabon. This is a large river, which waters an immenſe plain, and which, together with ſeveral other leſs conſiderable rivers, forms a multitude of iſlands, more or leſs extenſive, which are each of them governed by a ſeparate chief. There is ſcarce any country more plentiful, more ſunk under water, or more unwholeſome. The French, more volatile than enterpriſing, ſeldom go there, notwithſtanding their wants. The Portugueze of Prince's and St. Thomas's Iſlands ſend only a few ſloops. The Dutch export from thence ivory, wax, and woods for dying. The Engliſh buy up almoſt

almoſt all the ſlaves which the petty nations, that are perpetually intent upon each other's deſtruction, make of the priſoners taken on both ſides, in the wars carried on between them. There is no conſiderable ſtaple where the exchanges are made. The Europeans are obliged to penetrate, with their boats, to the extent of fifty or ſixty leagues, in theſe infectious moraſſes. This cuſtom prolongs the trade exceſſively, it is deſtructive to an infinite number of ſailors, and occaſions ſome murders. Theſe calamities would ceaſe, if a general mart were eſtabliſhed in Parrot Iſland, ſituated at the diſtance of ten leagues from the mouth of the Gabon, and where ſhips of a tolerable ſize can land. The Engliſh attempted it, undoubtedly with a view of fortifying themſelves there, and in hopes of obtaining an excluſive trade. Their agent was murdered in 1769, and matters have remained as they were before.

It muſt be obſerved, that the ſlaves which come from Benin, from Calbary, and from Gabon, are very inferior to thoſe which are bought elſewhere. They are therefore ſold as much as poſſible to the foreign colonies by the Engliſh, who frequent theſe indifferent markets more than any other nation. Such is the ſtate of things to the North of the line.

On the South, the markets are much leſs numerous, but generally more conſiderable. The firſt that preſents itſelf, after Cape de Lopo, is Mayumba. Till the ſhips arrive at this harbour, the ſea is too rough to admit approaching the land. A bay, which is two leagues over at it's mouth,

mouth, and one league in depth, affords a ſafe aſylum to the veſſels that are impeded by the calms and the currents, which are frequent in thoſe latitudes. The landing is eaſy near a river. It may be imagined, that the deſarts of a climate, too full of moraſſes, hath been the only reaſon that hath kept the Europans, and conſequently the Africans away. If from time to time a few captives are ſold there, they are purchaſed by the Engliſh and by the Dutch, who go there regularly to take in cargoes of a kind of red wood, that is employed in dying.

At Cape Segundo is found another bay, which is very healthy, more ſpacious, and more commodious, than even that of Mayumba, and in which water and wood may be obtained with eaſe and ſecurity. All theſe advantages muſt undoubtedly have draw'n a conſiderable trade there, if the time and the expences which are requiſite to reach to the extremity of a long ſlip of land, had not diſguſted the ſlave merchants of it.

They have preferred Loango, where they anchor at eight or nine toiſes diſtance from the river, in three or four fathom water, upon a muddy bottom. Such is the agitation of the ſea, that it is impoſſible to land on the coaſt, except upon Indian boats. The European factories are at a league's diſtance from the town, upon an eminence, which is conſidered as very unwholeſome. This is the reaſon why, notwithſtanding the blacks are cheaper there than any where elſe, and the natives are leſs difficult about the quality of the merchandize, yet the navigators ſeldom land

land at Loango, except when the competition is too great in the other ports.

At Molembo, the veſſels are obliged to ſtop at one league's diſtance from the ſhore; and the boats, in order to land, muſt clear a bar that is rather dangerous. The tranſactions are carried on upon a very agreeable mountain, but very difficult of acceſs. The ſlaves are here in greater number, and of ſuperior quality to thoſe upon the reſt of the coaſt.

The bay of Gabinda is ſafe and commodious. The ſea is ſmooth enough to admit of refitting the veſſels in caſe of neceſſity. Anchor is caſt at the foot of the houſes, and the buſineſs is tranſacted at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty paces from the ſhore.

It hath long been ſaid, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the climate is exceedingly deſtructive in theſe three ports, and eſpecially at Loango. Let us endeavour to find out the reaſons of this calamity, and let us ſee whether it may not be remedied.

The graſs which grows on the coaſt is almoſt always four or five feet high, and receives abundant dews during the night. The Europeans who croſs theſe fields in the morning, are ſeized with violent, and frequently fatal colics, unleſs the natural heat of the inteſtines, which are probably chilled by the impreſſion of this dew, be reſtored without delay by brandy. Would not this danger be avoided, by keeping away from this graſs 'till the ſun ſhould have diſſipated the kind of venom that had fallen upon it.

THE ſea is unwholeſome in theſe latitudes. It's waves of a yellowiſh caſt, and which are covered with whale's blubber, muſt obſtruct the pores of the ſkin in thoſe who bathe in it, and check their perſpiration. This is probably the cauſe of the burning fevers which carry off ſuch a prodigious number of ſailors. In order to prevent theſe deſtructive maladies, it would, perhaps, be ſufficient to employ the natives of the country in all the ſervices that cannot be done without entering into the water.

IN that country, the days are exceſſively hot, the nights damp and cold, which is a dangerous alternative. The inconveniences of it might be avoided, by lighting fires in the bedchambers. This precaution would make the two extremes leſs ſenſible, and would produce the neceſſary degree of temperature for a man who is aſleep, and who cannot put on additional coverings, in proportion as the cold of the night increaſes.

INACTION and weariſomeneſs, are fatal to the crews of ſhips that are commonly detained four or five months on the coaſt. This double inconvenience would be removed, if a third of them were conſtantly employed alternately on land, in thoſe trifling labours which are improperly thro'wn upon the Negroes, and which would occupy without fatiguing them.

IT will perhaps be ſaid, that we are for ever attending to the preſervation of man. But what object is there which ought more ſeriouſly to engage our thoughts? Is it gold, or ſilver, or precious ſtones? Some perſon of an atrocious diſpoſition

poſition might imagine it. Should he dare to avow ſuch a ſentiment in my preſence, I would ſay to him, I know not who thou art; but nature had formed thee to be a deſpot, a conqueror, or an executioner; for ſhe hath diveſted thee of all kind of benevolence towards thy fellow-creature. If we ſhould happen to miſtake with regard to the means we propoſe for their preſervation, we ſhall be happy to find them cenſured, and to have ſome more effectual means ſuggeſted.

Our confidence, however, in the advice we have juſt been giving, is the more confirmed, as it is founded upon experiments made by one of the moſt intelligent ſeamen we have ever know'n. This able man loſt only one ſailor during a twelvemonth's ſtay at Loango itſelf; and even that ſailor had infringed the orders that were given.

A very ſingular cuſtom is generally obſerved in the country of Angola; and the people are equally ignorant of it's origin and of it's tendency. The Kings of thoſe provinces are not allowed to have in their poſſeſſion, nor even to touch, any European goods, except metals, arms, and carved wood or ivory. It is probable that ſome of their predeceſſors have ſubmitted to this ſelf-denial, in order to diminiſh the inordinate deſire of their ſubjects for foreign merchandize. If this was the motive of that inſtitution, the ſucceſs hath not anſwered the expectation. The loweſt claſſes of men intoxicate themſelves with our liquors, whenever they have the means of

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purchaſing them; and the wealthy, the great, and even the miniſters, generally clothe themſelves with our linens and our ſtuffs. They take care only to quit theſe dreſſes when they go to court, where it is not allowed to diſplay a luxury prohibited to the deſpot alone.

There is no other landing-place from the laſt port we have mentioned, till we come to the Zaire. The river Ambriz is at no great diſtance from this; it receives a few ſmall veſſels ſent from Europe itſelf. More conſiderable ſhips, which arrive at Loango, at Molembo, and at Gabinda, likewiſe ſend ſome boats there occaſionally to trade for Negroes, and to ſhorten their ſtay on the coaſt; but the traders who are ſettled there, do not always allow this competition.

These difficulties are not to be apprehended at Moſſula, where no ſhips can enter. The Engliſh, the French, and the Dutch, who carry on their trade in the moſt important harbours, ſend their ſloops freely there, which ſeldom return without a few ſlaves, purchaſed at a more reaſonable price than in the larger markets.

After Moſſula, the Portugueze poſſeſſions begin, which extend along the coaſt from the eighth to the eighteenth degree of ſouth latitude, and ſometimes as far as a hundred leagues in the inland parts. This great ſpace is divided into many provinces, the ſeveral diſtricts of which are governed by chiefs, who are all tributary to Liſbon. Seven or eight feeble corps, of ten or twelve ſoldiers each, are ſufficient to keep theſe people in ſubjection. Theſe Negroes are ſuppoſed

poſed to be free, but the ſlighteſt miſdemeanour plunges them into ſervitude. Plentiful mines of iron, ſuperior in quality to any that has been found in any other part of the globe, have been diſcovered a few years ſince in the midſt of theſe foreſts, in a place which hath been called the New Oeiras. The Count de Souza, at that time governor of this diſtrict, and at preſent ambaſſador at the court of Spain, cauſed them to be worked; but they have been forſaken ſince the mother-country hath paſſed from the yoke of tyranny under that of ſuperſtition. This active commandant, likewiſe extended the frontiers of the empire under his command. His ambition was to reach as far as the rich mines of Monomotapa, and to pave the way for his ſucceſſors to purſue their conqueſts as far as the territory which his nation is in poſſeſſion of in the Moſambique.

We leave it to others to judge of the poſſibility or the fancifulneſs, the inutility or the importance of this communication. We will only obſerve, that the firſt Portugueze ſettlement, near the ocean, is Bamba, the chief buſineſs of which, conſiſts in furniſhing the woods which may be wanted at St. Paul de Loanda.

This capital of the Portugueze ſettlements in Africa, hath a tolerably good harbour. It is formed by a ſandy iſland, and protected at it's entrance, which is very narrow, by regular fortifications, and defended by a garriſon, which would be ſufficient, did it not conſiſt of officers and ſoldiers, moſt of whom are branded by the laws, or are at leaſt exiles. The population of

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the town conſiſts of ſeven or eight hundred white men, and of about three thouſand Negroes, or free Mulattoes.

St. Philip de Benguela, which belongs to the ſame nation, hath but one harbour, where the ſea is often very rough. The town, much leſs conſiderable than St. Paul, is covered by an indifferent fort, which would eaſily be reduced to aſhes by the guns of the ſhips. No very obſtinate reſiſtance would be made by two or three hundred Africans who guard, and who, even as St. Paul's, are moſt of them diſtributed in poſts, at ſome diſtance from one another.

At ten leagues beyond St. Philips, we find another Portugueze ſettlement, where numerous flocks are bred, and where the ſalt is gathered that is neceſſary for the people ſubject to that crown. The ſettlements and the trade of the Europeans, do not extend upon the weſtern coaſt of Africa.

The Portugueze veſſels, which frequent theſe latitudes, all repair to St. Paul's or to St. Philip's. They purchaſe a greater number of ſlaves in the firſt of theſe markets, and in the latter, ſlaves that are more robuſt. Theſe ſhips are not in general diſpatched from the mother-country, but from the Brazils, and almoſt ſolely from Rio de Janeiro. As the Portugueze have an excluſive privilege, they pay leſs for theſe unfortunate blacks than they are ſold for any where elſe. It is with tobacco, and with cowries, which they get upon the ſpot itſelf, as well as the tobacco, that they pay upon the Gold Coaſt; and upon the

Coaſt of Angola, they give in exchange ſome tobacco, rums, and coarſe linens.

In what number, at what price, and with what merchandize, the ſlaves are purchaſed.

In the early times, after the diſcovery of the weſtern Africa, the population of that immenſe portion of the globe, did not ſenſibly decreaſe. It's inhabitants were not at that time employed; but, in proportion as the conqueſts and the cultivations were increaſed in America, more ſlaves were required; this want hath gradually increaſed; and ſince the peace of 1763, eighty thouſand of theſe wretched inhabitants have been carried off from Guinea every year: theſe unfortunate men have not all arrived in the New World. According to the natural courſe of things, about one eighth part of them muſt have periſhed in the paſſage. Two thirds of theſe deplorable victims of our avarice have come from the north, and the remainder from the ſouth of the line.

They were originally purchaſed every where at a very cheap rate. Their value hath gradually increaſed, and in a more remarkable manner during the courſe of the laſt fifteen years. In 1777, a French merchant ſent to purchaſe one hundred and fifty of them at Molembo, which coſt him, one with another, 583 livres, 18 ſols, 10 deniers*, beſide the expences of fitting out. At the ſame period, he ſent for 521 at Portonovo, which he obtained for 460 livres, 10 deniers †.

This difference in the price, which may be conſidered as habitual, is not to be attributed to the inferiority of the ſlaves from the north; they are,

* About 24 l. 6 s. 5½ d. † About 19 l. 3 s. 4½ d.

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on the contrary ſtronger, more laborious, and more intelligent, than thoſe from the ſouth; but the coaſt from which they are brought, is leſs convenient and more dangerous; they are not always to be found there, and the privateer runs the riſk of loſing the profits of the voyage; it is neceſſary to put in at Prince's, and St. Thomas's Iſlands, in order to procure water for them; beſides, that ſeveral of them periſh in the paſſage, which is delayed by contrary winds, calms, and currents; and that their diſpoſition inclines them to deſpair and to rebellion. All theſe reaſons muſt render them cheaper in Africa, though they be ſold for ſomething more in the New World.

SUPPOSING, that fourſcore thouſand blacks have been purchaſed in 1777, and all of them at the prices we have mentioned, the amount of the whole will be 41,759,333 livres, 6 ſols, 8 deniers *, which the African Coaſts will have obtained for the moſt horrid of all ſacrifices.

THE ſlave merchant doth not receive this entire ſum. Part of it is abſorbed by the taxes required by the ſovereigns of the ports in which the trade is carried on. An agent of the government, whoſe buſineſs it is to maintain order, hath likewiſe his demands. Intermediate perſons are employed between the buyer and the ſeller, whoſe interpoſition is become dearer, in proportion to the increaſe of the competition between the European navigators,

* About 1,739,970 l. 4 s. 5 ¼ d.

and

and to the diminution of the number of the blacks. Theſe expences, foreign to the trade, are not exactly the ſame in all the markets; but they do not experience any important variations, and are too conſiderable every where.

THESE ſlaves are not paid for with metals, but with our productions, and with our merchandiſe. All nations, except the Portugueze, give nearly things of the ſame value. They conſiſt of broad ſwords, firelocks, gun-powder, iron, brandy, toys, carpets, glaſs, woollen-ſtuffs, and eſpecially Eaſt India linens, or ſuch as are manufactured and printed in imitation of them in Europe. The people to the north of the line, have adopted for their coin a ſmall white ſhell, which we bring to them from the Maldives. The trade of the Europeans, on the ſouth of the line, hath not this object of exchange. The coin is repreſented there by a ſmall piece of ſtraw ſtuff, eighteen inches in length, and twelve in breadth, which is current for 5 ſols * of France.

Who are the people who purchaſe ſlaves.

THE European nations have thought that it would be of uſe to their trade to have ſettlements in the weſtern part of Africa. The Portugueze, who, according to the generally received opinion, arrived there the firſt, carried on the ſlave trade for a long while without any competitors, becauſe they alone had eſtabliſhed cultures in America. From a concurrence of unfortunate circumſtances, they were ſubdued by Spain, and attacked in every part of the world by the Dutch,

* 2 ½d.

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who had diſengaged themſelves from the fetters under which they were oppreſſed. The new republicans triumphed, without any extraordinary exertions, over an enſlaved people, and more eſpecially on the coaſt of Guinea; where no means of defence had been prepared. But no ſooner had the court of Liſbon recovered their independency, than they were deſirous of re-conquering thoſe poſſeſſions, of which they had been deprived during their ſtate of ſlavery. Their navigators were encouraged by their ſucceſſes in the Brazils to ſail towards Africa. Though they did not ſucceed in reſtoring to their country all it's ancient rights, they recovered, at leaſt, in 1648, the country of Angola, which hath remained ever ſince under it's dominion. A few iſlands, more or leſs conſiderable, in theſe immenſe ſeas, belong likewiſe to Portugal. Such are the remains of the empire, which the court of Liſbon had eſtabliſhed, and which extended from Ceuta to the Red Sea.

The Dutch gave up their ſhare of theſe rich ſpoils to the Weſt India Company, who had ſeized upon them. This monopolizing Company built forts, levied taxes, took upon themſelves the ſettling of all diſputes, ventured to puniſh any perſon with death whom they judged to act contrary to their intereſt; and even went ſo far as to conſider as enemies, all the European navigators whom they found in theſe latitudes, the excluſive trade of which they claimed to themſelves. This conduct ſo totally ruined this chartered body, that, in 1730, they were obliged

to

to give up the expeditions which they had hitherto carried on, without competition. They only reſerved to themſelves the property of the forts, the defence, and the maintenance of which coſts them annually 280,000 florins, or 616,000 livres *. They ſend a ſhip every year to victual theſe forts, unleſs they can prevail upon the merchantmen, who frequent thoſe latitudes, to convey proviſions to them at a moderate freight. They ſometimes even make uſe of the right they have reſerved to themſelves, of ſending twelve ſoldiers upon every ſhip, by paying ſeventy-nine livres four ſols † for the paſſage, and for the ſubſiſtence of each.

The directors of the ſeveral factories are allowed to purchaſe ſlaves, upon giving forty-four livres ‡ a-head to the companies on which they depend; but they are obliged to ſell them in Africa itſelf, and are forbidden by the laws to ſend them on their own account to the New World.

These regions are open at preſent to all the ſubjects of the republic. Their obligations to the company conſiſt only in paying 46 livres 14 ſols § to it, for every tun which is contained in the veſſel, and three per cent. for all the proviſions which they bring back from America to Europe.

In the firſt beginning of their liberty, the trade of gold, ivory, wax, red wood, and of that

* 25,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.
† 3 l. 0 s. 6 d.
‡ 1 l. 16 s. 8 d.
§ 2 l. 10 s. 7 d.

ſpecies

ſpecies of pepper know'n by the name of *Malaguette*, employed ſeveral veſſels. None are fitted out at preſent for theſe objects, portions of which are put upon the ſhips that are ſent to purchaſe Negroes.

The number of theſe veſſels, which are moſtly of two hundred tuns burthen, and the crews of which conſiſted of twenty-eight, and as far as thirty-ſix men, formerly amounted annually to twenty-five or thirty, which traded for ſix or ſeven thouſand ſlaves. This number is conſiderably diminiſhed, ſince the lowering of the coffee hath diſabled the colonies from paying for thoſe cargoes. The province of Holland hath ſome ſhare in this ſhameful traffic, but it is chiefly carried on by the province of Zeeland.

The deplorable victims of this barbarous avidity, are diſperſed in the ſeveral ſettlements which the United Provinces have formed in the iſlands, or in the American continent. They ought to be expoſed to public view, and ſold ſeparately, but this rule is not always adhered to; it even frequently happens, that a privateer, at the time of the ſale, agrees for the price for which he will ſell the ſlaves at the next voyage.

In 1552, the Engliſh flag appeared, for the firſt time, on the weſtern coaſts of Africa. The merchants who traded there, formed an aſſociation thirty-eight years after, to which, according to the general cuſtom of thoſe times, an excluſive charter was granted. This ſociety, and thoſe that followed it, had their veſſels often confiſcated by the Portugueze, and afterwards by

by the Dutch, who pretended that they were the ſovereigns of thoſe countries; but the peace of Breda, at length, put a perpetual ſtop to theſe tyrannical perſecutions.

The Engliſh iſlands in the New World began, at that time, to require a great number of ſlaves for the cultivation of their lands. This was an infallible ſource of proſperity for the companies whoſe buſineſs it was to furniſh theſe planters; and yet theſe companies, which ſucceeded each other with great rapidity, were all ruined; and retarded, by their indolence, or by their diſhoneſty, the improvement of the colonies, from which the nation had expected to reap ſuch conſiderable advantages.

Public indignation againſt ſuch miſconduct manifeſted itſelf, in 1697, in ſo violent a manner, as to compel government to allow individuals to frequent the weſtern part of Africa; but upon condition that they ſhould give ten per cent. to the monopoly for the maintenance of the forts built in thoſe regions. The privilege itſelf was afterwards aboliſhed. This trade hath been open ſince 1749 to all the Engliſh navigators without any expence, and the treaſury hath taken upon itſelf the expences of ſovereignty.

Since the peace of 1763, Great Britain hath ſent annually to the coaſt of Guinea 195 veſſels, conſiſting, collectively, of twenty-three thouſand tuns, and ſeven or eight thouſand men. Rather more than half this number have been diſpatched from Liverpool; and the remainder from London, Briſtol, and Lancaſter. They have traded

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for forty thouſand ſlaves; the greateſt part of which have been ſold in the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands, and in North America. Thoſe that were not diſpoſed of in theſe markets, have been either fraudulently or publicly introduced in the colonies belonging to other nations.

This conſiderable trade hath not been conducted upon uniform principles. The part of the coaſt which begins at Cape Blanco, and ends at Cape Rouge, was put under the immediate inſpection of the miniſtry in 1765. From that period to 1778, the civil and military expences of this ſettlement have amounted to 4,050,000 livres *: a ſum which the nation have conſidered as inadequate to the advantages they have acquired from it.

A committee, choſen by the merchants themſelves, and conſiſting of nine deputies, three from Liverpool, three from London, and three from Briſtol, are to take care of the ſettlements which are formed between Cape Rouge and the line. Though parliament have annually granted four or five hundred thouſand livres † for the maintenance of theſe ſmall forts, moſt of them are in a ruinous condition; but they are protected by the difficulty of landing.

The Engliſh have no factory upon the remaining part of the weſt of Africa. Every trader reſorts to them in the manner he thinks the moſt ſuitable to his intereſt, without reſtraint, and without

* 168,750 l.

† From 16,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 20,833 l. 6 s. 8 d.

any

any particular protection. As the competition is greater in these ports than in the others, the navigators of the nation have gradually forsaken them, and they scarce deal annually for two thousand slaves, in markets where they formerly purchased twelve or fifteen thousand.

It can scarce be doubted that the French appeared on those savage coasts before their rivals; but they entirely lost sight of them, till the year 1621, when their flag began again to appear there. The settlement which they formed at that period in Senegal, acquired, in 1678, some increase from the terror which the victorious arms of Lewis XIV. had inspired. This rising power became the prey of a formidable enemy under the reign of his successor. Other factories, successively formed, and become useless in the hands of a monopoly, had already been forsaken. Accordingly, for want of settlements, the trade of that country hath always been insufficient for it's rich colonies. In it's greatest prosperity, it hath never furnished them more than thirteen or fourteen thousand slaves annually.

The Danes settled above a century ago in those countries. An exclusive Company exercised it's privileges there with that degree of barbarity, of which the more polished countries of Europe have so often set the example in those unfortunate climates. Only one of it's agents had the courage to forego these atrocious proceedings, which, from habit, they had considered as legal. Such was his reputation for his goodness, and such the confidence reposed in his integrity, that the

the Negroes uſed to come from the diſtance of a hundred leagues to ſee him. The ſovereign of a diſtant country ſent his daughter to him with gold and ſlaves, to obtain a grandſon of Schilderop's, which was the name of this European ſo much revered upon all the coaſts of Nigritia. O, Virtue! thou do'ſt ſtill exiſt in the hearts of thoſe miſerable people, who are condemned to live among tigers, or to groan under the tyranny of man! They are then capable of feeling the delightful attractions of benevolent humanity! Juſt and magnanimous Dane! What monarch ever received an homage ſo pure and ſo glorious as that which thy nation hath ſeen thee enjoy! And in what countries? On a ſea, and on a land, which hath been contaminated for three centuries paſt with an infamous traffic, of crimes and misfortunes, of men exchanged for arms, of children ſold by their fathers! We have not tears ſufficient to deplore ſuch horrors, and thoſe tears would be unavailing!

In 1754, the trade of Guinea was opened to all citizens, upon condition of paying twelve livres * to the treaſury for every Negro which they ſhould introduce into the Daniſh iſlands in the New World. This liberty did not extend, *communibus annis*, beyond the purchaſe of five hundred ſlaves. Such a degree of indolence determined government to liſten, in 1765, to the propoſals of a foreigner, who offered to give a proper degree of extenſion to this vile commerce,

* 10s.

and

and the tax impoſed upon it was taken off. This new experiment was entirely unſucceſsful, becauſe the author of the project was never able to collect more than 170,000 crowns * for the execution of his enterprizes; and in 1776, the ſyſtem which had been given up eleven years before, was reaſſumed.

CHRISTIANSBOURG and Fredericſbourg are the only factories which are in ſome degree fortified; the others are only plain lodges. The crown maintains, in the five ſettlements, ſixty-two men, ſome of whom are Negroes, for the ſum of 53,160 livres †. If the magazines were properly ſupplied, it would be eaſy to treat every year for two thouſand ſlaves; only two hundred are purchaſed in the preſent ſtate of things, moſt of which are given up to foreign nations, becauſe no Daniſh navigators appear to carry them off.

IT cannot be eaſily foreſeen what maxims Spain will adopt in the connections ſhe is going to form in Africa. This crown hath ſucceſſively received it's ſlaves, ſometimes openly, and ſometimes fraudulently, from the Genoeſe, from the Portugueze, from the French, and from the Engliſh. In order to emerge from this ſtate of dependence, it hath cauſed to be ceded, by the treaties of 1777 and of 1778, by the court of Liſbon, the iſlands of Annabona, and of Fernando del Po, both ſituated very near the line, the one to the ſouth, and the other to the north. The former hath only one very dangerous harbour, too little

* 21,250 l. † 2,215 l.

water

water to contain ſhips, and is ſix miles in circumference. The greateſt part of this ſpace is occupied by two high mountains. The thick clouds with which they are almoſt conſtantly covered, keep the vallies in that ſtate of moiſture which would render them ſuſceptible of cultivation. A few hundred Negroes are ſeen here, whoſe labours furniſh a ſmall number of white men with a great abundance of hogs, goats, and poultry. The ſale of a ſmall quantity of cotton ſupplies them with their other wants, which are incloſed in a very narrow compaſs. The ſecond acquiſition is of leſs intrinſic value, as it hath no kind of harbour, and as it's inhabitants are very ferocious: but it's proximity to Calbari and to Gabon, renders it more proper for the purpoſe which hath dictated the acquiring of it.

Let not, however, the Spaniſh miniſtry imagine, that it is ſufficient to have ſome poſſeſſions in Guinea, in order to procure ſlaves. Such was, indeed, the origin of this infamous traffic. At that time, every European nation had only to fortify it's factories, in order to drive away ſtrangers, and to oblige the natives to ſell to no other traders except their own. But when theſe ſmall diſtricts have had no more ſlaves to deliver, the trade hath languiſhed, becauſe the people of the inland countries have preferred the free ports, where they might chooſe their purchaſers. The advantage of theſe eſtabliſhments, formed at ſo much expence, was loſt, when the object of their commerce was exhauſted.

Methods made uſe of in the purchaſe, in the treatment, and in the ſale of ſlaves. Reflections upon this ſubject.

THE difficulty of procuring ſlaves naturally points out the neceſſity of employing ſmall ſhips for carrying them off. At a time when a ſmall territory, adjacent to the coaſt, furniſhed in a fortnight or three weeks a whole cargo, it was prudent to employ large veſſels, becauſe there was a poſſibility of underſtanding, looking after, and encouraging the ſlaves, who all ſpoke the ſame language. At preſent, when each ſhip can ſcarce procure ſixty or eighty ſlaves a month, brought from the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues, exhauſted by the fatigues of a long journey, obliged to remain on board the veſſels they are embarked upon, five or ſix months, in ſight of their country, having all different idioms, uncertain of the deſtiny that awaits them, ſtruck with the prepoſſeſſion, that the Europeans eat them and drink their blood; their extreme uneaſineſs alone deſtroys them, or occaſions diſorders which become contagious, by the impoſſibility of ſeparating the ſick from the healthy. A ſmall ſhip deſtined to carry two or three hundred Negroes, by means of the ſhort ſtay it makes on the coaſt, avoids half the accidents and loſſes to which a ſhip, capable of holding five or ſix hundred ſlaves, is expoſed.

THERE are other abuſes, and theſe of the utmoſt conſequence, to be reformed in this voyage, which is naturally unhealthy. Thoſe who engage in it commonly fall into two great miſtakes. Dupes to a mercenary diſpoſition, the privateers pay more regard to the quantity of ſtowage than to the diſpatch of their veſſels; a circumſtance that neceſſarily prolongs the voyage, which every

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thing ſhould induce them to ſhorten. Another inconvenience ſtill more dangerous, is, the cuſtom they have of ſailing from Europe at all times; though the regularity of the winds and the currents hath determined the moſt proper ſeaſon for arriving in theſe latitudes.

This bad practice hath given riſe to the diſtinction of the great and little voyage. The little voyage is the ſtraighteſt and the ſhorteſt. It is no more than eighteen hundred leagues to the moſt diſtant ports where there are ſlaves. It may be performed in thirty-five or forty days, from the beginning of September to the end of November; becauſe, from the time of ſetting out, to the time of arrival, the winds and the currents are favourable. It is even poſſible to attempt it in December, January, and February, but with leſs ſecurity and ſucceſs.

Sailing is no longer practicable in theſe latitudes, from the beginning of March to the end of Auguſt. The ſhips would have continually to ſtruggle againſt the violent currents which run northward, and againſt the ſouth-eaſt wind, which conſtantly blows. Experience hath taught navigators, that during this ſeaſon, they muſt keep at a diſtance from the ſhore, get into the open ſea, ſail towards the ſouth as far as twenty-ſix or twenty-eight degrees betwixt Africa and Brazil, and afterwards draw gradually nearer and nearer to Guinea, in order to land at a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues to windward of the port where they are to diſembark. This route is

two

two thouſand five hundred leagues, and requires ninety or a hundred days ſail.

THIS great route, independent of it's length, deprives them of the moſt favourable time for trade, and for returning. The ſhips meet with calms, are thwarted by winds, and carried away by currents; water fails them, the proviſions are ſpoiled, and the ſlaves are ſeized with the ſcurvy. Other calamities, not leſs fatal, often increaſe the danger of this ſituation. The negroes, to the north of the Line, are ſubject to the ſmall-pox, which, by a ſingularity very diſtreſſing, ſeldom breaks out among this people till after the age of fourteen. If this contagious diſtemper ſhould affect a ſhip which is at her moorings there are ſeveral know'n methods to leſſen it's violence. But a ſhip attacked by it, while on it's paſſage to America, often loſes the whole cargo of ſlaves. Thoſe who are born to the ſouth of the Line, eſcape this diſeaſe by another, which is a kind of virulent ulcer, the malignity of which is more violent and more irritable on the ſea, and which is never radically cured. Phyſicians ought, perhaps, to obſerve this double effect of the ſmall-pox among the Negroes, which is, that it favours thoſe who are born beyond the Equator, and never attacks the others in their infancy. The number and variety of effects ſometimes afford occaſion for the inveſtigation of the cauſes of diſorders, and for the diſcovery of remedies proper for them.

THOUGH all the nations concerned in the African trade be equally intereſted in preſerving the

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ſlaves in their paſſage, they do not all attend to this with the ſame care. They all feed them with beans mixed with a ſmall quantity of rice; but they differ in other reſpects in their manner of treating them. The Engliſh, Dutch and Danes keep the men conſtantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the ſmall number of hands they have on board their ſhips obliges them to this ſeverity. The French, who have great numbers, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters. All theſe nations, eſpecially the Engliſh, are too negligent with regard to the intercourſe between the ſailors with the women ſlaves. This irregularity occaſions the death of three-fourths of thoſe whom the Guinea voyage deſtroys every year. None but the Portugueze, during their paſſage, are ſecured againſt revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a conſequence of the care they take, to man their veſſels only with the Negroes to whom they have given their freedom. The ſlaves, encouraged by the converſation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the deſtiny that awaits them. The quietneſs of their behaviour induces the Portugeze to grant the two ſexes the happineſs of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other veſſels, would be productive of the greateſt inconveniencies.

The ſale of ſlaves is not carried on in the ſame manner throughout all America. The Engliſh, who have promiſcuouſly bought up whatever preſented itſelf in the general market, ſell their cargo by

by wholeſale. A ſingle merchant buys it entire; and the planters parcel it out. What they reject is ſent into foreign colonies, either by ſmuggling, or with permiſſion. The cheapneſs of a Negro is a greater object to the buyer to induce him to purchaſe, than the badneſs of his conſtitution is to deter him from it. Theſe traders will one day be convinced of the abſurdity of ſuch a conduct.

The Portugueze, Dutch, French, and Danes, who have no way of diſpoſing of the infirm and weakly ſlaves, never take charge of any of them in Guinea. They all divide their cargoes, according to the demands of the proprietors of plantations. The bargain is made for ready money, or for credit, according as circumſtances vary.

Wretched condition of the ſlaves in America.

In America it is generally believed and aſſerted, that the Africans are equally incapable of reaſon and of virtue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

An Engliſh ſhip, that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the ſurgeon behind, whoſe bad ſtate of health did not permit him to continue at ſea. Murray, for that was his name, was there, endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch veſſel drew near the coaſt, put the blacks in irons, whom curioſity had brought to the ſhore, and inſtantly ſailed off with the booty.

Thoſe who intereſted themſelves for theſe unhappy people, incenſed at ſo baſe a treachery, inſtantly ran to Cudjoc, who ſtopped them at his door, and aſked them what they were in ſearch of?

of? *The white man, who is with you,* replied they, *who ſhould be put to death, becauſe his brethren have carried off our's. The Europeans,* anſwered the generous hoſt, *who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever you can find them. But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend; my houſe is his fortreſs; I am his ſoldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him, you ſhall paſs over me. O my friends, what juſt man would ever enter my doors, if I had ſuffered my habitation to be ſtained with the blood of an innocent man?* This diſcourſe appeaſed the rage of the blacks: they retired aſhamed of the deſign that had brought them there; and ſome days after acknowleged to Murray himſelf, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occaſioned them perpetual remorſe.

THIS event renders it probable, that the firſt impreſſions which the Africans receive in the New World, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this obſervation; thoſe who fall to the ſhare of a humane maſter, willingly eſpouſe his intereſts. They inſenſibly adopt the ſpirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is ſometimes exalted even into heroiſm. A Portugueze ſlave who had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old maſter had been taken up for an aſſaſſination, came into the court of juſtice, and acknowleged himſelf guilty of the fact; let himſelf be put in priſon in lieu of his maſter; brought falſe, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and ſuffered death inſtead of the guilty perſon.

perſon. Actions of ſo ſublime a nature muſt be uncommon. We will mention one, which, though leſs heroic, is nevertheleſs very praiſe-worth.

A PLANTER of St. Domingo had a confidential ſlave, whom he was perpetually flattering with the hope of ſpeedy freedom, which, however, he never granted him. The more pains this kind of favourite took to render himſelf uſeful, the more firmly rivetted were his fetters, becauſe he became more and more neceſſary. Hope, however, did not forſake him, but he reſolved to attain the deſired end by a different mode.

IN ſome parts of the iſland, the Negroes are obliged to provide themſelves with clothes and nouriſhment; and for this purpoſe they are allowed a ſmall portion of territory, and two hours every day to cultivate it. Thoſe amongſt them who are active and intelligent, do not merely gain their ſubſiſtence from theſe little plantations, but they likewiſe acquire a ſuperfluity, which inſures a fortune to them more or leſs conſiderable.

LEWIS DESROULEAUX, whoſe ſchemes rendered him very œconomical, and very laborious, had ſoon amaſſed funds more than ſufficient to purchaſe his liberty. He offered them with tranſport for the purchaſe of his independence, which had been ſo often promiſed him. *I have too long traded with the blood of my fellow-creatures*, ſaid his maſter to him in a tone of humiliation; *be free, you reſtore me to myſelf.* Immediately the maſter, whoſe heart had been rather led aſtray, than

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than corrupted, ſold all his effects, and embarked for France.

He was obliged to go through Paris, in order to reach his province. His intention was to make but a ſhort ſtay in that metropolis; but the various pleaſures he met with in that ſuperb and delightful capital, detained him till he had fooliſhly diſſipated the riches which he had acquired by long and fortunate labours. In his deſpair, he thought it leſs humiliating to ſolicit, in America, aſſiſtance from thoſe who were obliged to him for their advancement, than to aſk it in Europe of thoſe who had ruined him.

His arrival at Cape François cauſed a general ſurprize. No ſooner was his ſituation know'n, than he was generally forſaken; all doors were ſhut againſt him; no heart was moved by compaſſion. He found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing the remainder of his days in that retirement and obſcurity which is the conſequence of indigence, and eſpecially when merited, when Lewis Deſrouleaux came to throw himſelf at his feet. "Condeſcend," ſaid that virtuous freeman, "condeſcend to accept the houſe of "your ſlave; you ſhall be ſerved, obeyed, and "beloved in it." But ſoon perceiving that the reſpect which is owen to the unfortunate, and the attention which is due to benefactors, did not render his old maſter happy, he preſſed him to retire to France. "My gratitude will follow "you," ſaid he, embracing his knees. "Here "is a contract for an annual income of 1500 "livres,

" livres *, which I conjure you to accept. This " freſh inſtance of your goodneſs, will be the " comfort of my future days."

THE annuity hath always been paid before hand ſince that period. Some preſents, as tokens of friendſhip, conſtantly accompanied it from St. Domingo to France. The giver, and the receiver, were both alive in 1774. May they both ſerve for a long time as a model to this proud, ungrateful, and unnatural age!

SEVERAL acts reſembling this, of Lewis Deſrou'eaux, have affected ſome of the planters. Several of them would readily ſay, as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the ſalutation of a Negro, *I ſhould be very ſorry that a ſlave ſhould be more mannerly than myſelf.*

BUT there are barbarians, who conſidering pity as a weakneſs, delight in making their dependents perpetually ſenſible of their tyranny. They juſtly, however, receive their puniſhment in the negligence, infidelity, deſertion, and ſuicide of the deplorable victims of their inſatiable avarice. Some of theſe unfortunate men, eſpecially thoſe of Mina, courageouſly put an end to their lives, under the firm perſuaſion, that they ſhall immediately, after death, riſe again in their own country, which they look upon as the fineſt in the world. A vindictive ſpirit furniſhes others with reſources ſtill more fatal. Inſtructed from their infancy in the arts of poiſons, which grow, as it were, un-

* 62 l.

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der their hands, they employ them in the deſtruction of the cattle, the horſes, the mules, the companions of their ſlavery, and of every living thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppreſſors. In order to remove from themſelves all ſuſpicion, they firſt exerciſe their cruelties on their wives, their children, their miſtreſſes, and on every thing that is deareſt to them. In this dreadful project, that can only be the reſult of deſpair, they have the double pleaſure of delivering their ſpecies from a yoke more dreadful than death, and of leaving their tyrant in a wretched ſtate of miſery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of puniſhment doth not check them. They are ſcarce ever know'n to have any kind of foreſight; and they are, moreover, certain of concealing their crimes, being proof againſt tortures. By one of thoſe inexplicable contradictions of the human heart, though common to all people whether civilized or not, Negroes, though naturally cowards, give many inſtances of an unſhaken firmneſs of ſoul. The ſame organiſation which ſubjects them to ſervitude, from the indolence of their mind, and the relaxation of their fibres, inſpires them with vigour and unparalleled reſolution for extraordinary actions. They are cowards all their life time, and heroes only for an inſtant. One of theſe miſerable men hath been know'n to cut his wriſt off with a ſtroke of a hatchet, rather than purchaſe his liberty, by ſubmitting to the vile office of an executioner. Another ſlave had been ſlightly tortured for a trifling fault, which he was not even guilty of. Stung

by reſentment, he determined to ſeize upon the whole family of his oppreſſor, and to carry them up to the roof of the houſe. When the tyrant was preparing to enter his dwelling, he beheld his youngeſt ſon throw'n down at his feet; he lifted up his head and ſaw the ſecond fall likewiſe. Seized with deſpair, he fell on his knees, to implore, in great agitation, the life of the third. But the fall of this laſt of his offspring, together with that of the Negro, convinced him, that he was no longer a father, nor worthy to be one.

NOTHING, however, is more miſerable than the condition of the Negro, throughout the whole American Archipelago. The firſt thing done, is to diſgrace him with the indelible mark of ſlavery, by ſtamping with a hot iron, upon his arms, or upon his breaſt, the name, or the mark of his oppreſſor. A narrow, unwholeſome hut, without any conveniences, ſerves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put the body to torture than to afford it any eaſe. Some earthen pots, and a few wooden diſhes are his furniture. The coarſe linen which covers part of his body, neither ſecures him from the inſupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food he is ſupplied with, is caſſava, ſalt beef, ſalt cod, fruits and roots, which are ſcarce able to ſupport his miſerable exiſtence. Deprived of every enjoyment, he is condemned to a perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, conſtantly under the rod of an unfeeling maſter.

ALL Europe hath for this century paſt, been filled with the moſt ſublime, and the ſoundeſt ſentiments

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ſentiments of morality. Writings, which will be immortal, have eſtabliſhed in the moſt affecting manner, that all men are brethren. We are filled with indignation at the cruelties, either civil or religious of our ferocious anceſtors, and we turn away our eyes from thoſe ages of horror and blood. Thoſe among our neighbours, whom the inhabitants of Barbary have loaden with irons, obtain our pity and aſſiſtance. Even imaginary diſtreſſes draw tears from our eyes, both in the ſilent retirement of the cloſet, and eſpecially at the theatre. It is only the fatal deſtiny of the Negroes which doth not concern us. They are tyrannized, mutilated, burnt, and put to death, and yet we liſten to theſe accounts coolly and without emotion. The torments of a people, to whom we owe our luxuries, can never reach our hearts.

The condition of theſe ſlaves, though every where deplorable, is ſomething different in the colonies. In thoſe where there are very extenſive territories, a portion of land is generally given them, to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They are allowed to employ a part of the Sunday in cultivating it, and the few moments that on other days they ſpare from the time allotted for their meals. In the more confined iſlands, the coloniſt himſelf furniſhes their food, the greateſt part of which hath been imported by ſea from other countries. Ignorance, avarice, or poverty, have introduced into ſome colonies, a method of providing for the ſubſiſtence of Negroes, equally deſtructive both to the men and the

the plantation. They are allowed on Saturday, or ſome other day, to work in the neighbouring plantations, or to plunder them, in order to procure a maintenance for the reſt of the week.

Beside theſe differences ariſing from the particular ſituation of the ſettlements in the American iſlands, each European nation hath a manner of treating ſlaves peculiar to itſelf. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portugueze, the inſtruments of their debauchery; the Dutch, the victims of their avarice. By the Engliſh, they are conſidered merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be uſed, nor deſtroyed without neceſſity; but they never treat them with familiarity; they never ſmile upon them, nor ſpeak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting them ſuſpect, that nature could have given any one mark of reſemblance betwixt them and their ſlaves. This makes them hate the Engliſh. The French, leſs haughty, leſs diſdainful, conſider the Africans as a ſpecies of moral beings; and theſe unhappy men, ſenſible of the honour of ſeeing themſelves almoſt treated like rational creatures, ſeem to forget that their maſter is impatient of making his fortune, that he always exacts labours from them above their ſtrength, and frequently lets them want ſubſiſtence.

The opinions of the Europeans have alſo ſome influence on the condition of the Negroes of America. The proteſtants, who are not actuated by a deſire of making proſelytes, ſuffer them to

live

live in Mohammediſm, or in that idolatry in which they were born, under a pretence, that it would be injurious to keep their *brethren in Chriſt* in a ſtate of ſlavery. The catholics think themſelves obliged to give them ſome inſtruction, and to baptize them; but their charity extends no further than the bare ceremonies of a baptiſm, which is wholly uſeleſs and unneceſſary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which, they ſay, they are accuſtomed in this life.

The torments they experience in their ſlavery, and the diſorders to which they are liable in America, both contribute to render them inſenſible to the dread of future puniſhment. They are particularly ſubject to two diſeaſes, the yaws, and a complaint that affects their ſtomach. The firſt effect of this laſt diſorder is, to turn their ſkin and complexion to an olive colour. Their tongue becomes white, and they are overpowered by ſuch a deſire of ſleeping that they cannot reſiſt: they grow faint, and are incapable of the leaſt exerciſe. It is a languor, and a general relaxation of the whole machine. In this ſituation they are in ſuch a ſtate of deſpondency, that they ſuffer themſelves to be knocked down rather than walk. The loathing which they have of mild and wholeſome food, is attended with a kind of rage for every thing that is ſalted or ſpiced. Their legs ſwell, their breath is obſtructed, and few of them ſurvive this diſorder. The greateſt part die of ſuffocation, after having ſuffered and languiſhed for ſeveral months.

The thickneſs of their blood, which appears to be the ſource of theſe diſorders, may proceed from ſeveral

ſeveral cauſes. One of the principal, is, undoubtedly, the melancholy which muſt ſeize theſe men who are violently tor'n away from their country, are fettered like criminals, who find themſelves all on a ſudden on the ſea, where they continue for two months or ſix weeks, and who, from the midſt of a beloved family, paſs under the yoke of an unknow'n people, from whom they expect the moſt dreadful puniſhments. A ſpecies of food, new to them, and diſagreeable in itſelf, diſguſts them in their paſſage. At their arrival in the iſlands, the proviſions that are diſtributed to them, are neither good in quality, nor ſufficient to ſupport them. The caſſava, which is particularly allotted to them, is very dangerous in itſelf. The animals who eat of it are rapidly deſtroyed, though by a contradiction, which is often found in nature, they are very fond of it. If this root doth not produce ſuch fatal effects among mankind, it is becauſe they do not make uſe of it till all it's poiſon hath been extracted by preparation. But with what negligence muſt not theſe preparations be made, when ſlaves only are the object of them.

ART hath for a long time been employed in endeavouring to find out ſome remedy againſt this diſorder in the ſtomach. It has been found, after ſeveral experiments, that nothing was more ſalutary, than to give the blacks who were attacked with it, three ounces of the juice of a ſpecies of colocynth, with almoſt a ſimilar doſe of a kind of oracte, know'n in the iſlands by the name of *jargon*. This drink is preceded by a purgative, which

conſiſts

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consists of half a drachm of gumbooge diluted in milk, or in honey-water.

THE yaws, which is the second disorder peculiar to Negroes, and which accompanies them from Africa to America, is contracted in the birth, or by communication between the sexes. No age is free from it; but it more particularly attacks at the periods of infancy and youth. Old people have seldom strength sufficient to support the long and violent treatment which it requires.

THERE are said to be four species of yaws. The yaws with pustules, large and small, as in the small pox; that which resembles lentils; and lastly the red yaws, which is the most dangerous of all.

THE yaws attack every part of the body, but more especially the face. It manifests itself by granulated red spots, resembling a raspberry. These spots degenerate into sordid ulcers, and the disorder at length affects the bones. It is not in general attended with much sensibility.

FEVERS seldom attack the persons who are afflicted with the yaws; they eat and drink as usual, but they have an almost insuperable aversion for every kind of motion, without which, however, no cure can be expected.

THE eruption lasts about three months; the patients are fed, during this long space of time, with the Catalou, or *Retmia Brasilienſis*, with rice, dressed without either grease or butter, and the only drink which is allowed them is water, in which one or other of these vegetables hath been boiled. They must also be kept very warm, and made to use every sort

ſort of exerciſe that can moſt powerfully promote perſpiration.

At length the period comes, when it is neceſſary to purge and bathe the patient, and to adminiſter mercury to him, both internally and by friction, in ſuch a manner as to bring on a gentle ſalivation. The effect of this remedy, which is the only ſpecific againſt the diſeaſe, is to be aſſiſted by a diet drink made with herbs, or with the ſudorific woods. This proceſs muſt even be continued for a long time after the cure is conſidered as complete.

The ulcer, which hath ſerved as a drain during the treatment, is not always cloſed at the termination even of the diſorder. It is then cured with red precipitate, and a digeſtive ointment.

The Negroes have a peculiar method of drying up their puſtules; they apply to them the black of the ſaucepans, mixed with the juice of lemon or citron.

All the Negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the iſlands, have the yaws once in their lives: it is a diſeaſe they muſt neceſſarily paſs through; but there is no inſtance of any of them being attacked with it a ſecond time, after having been radically cured. The Europeans ſeldom or never catch this diſorder, notwithſtanding the frequent and daily connection which they have with the Negro women. Theſe women ſuckle the children of the white people, but do not give them the yaws. How is it poſſible to reconcile theſe facts, which are incon-

teſtible, with the ſyſtem which phyſicians ſeem to have adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws? Can it not be allowed, that the ſemen, the blood, and ſkin of the Negroes, are ſuſceptible of a virus peculiar to their ſpecies? The cauſe of this diſorder, perhaps, is the ſame as that which occaſions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and there is no being or quality that exiſts abſolutely detached from others in nature.

But whatever this diſorder may be, it is demonſtrated, that fourteen or fifteen hundred thouſand blacks, who are now diſperſed over the European colonies of the New World, are the unfortunate remains of eight or nine millions of ſlaves that have been conveyed there. This dreadful deſtruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the ſame as that of Africa, much leſs of the diſorders, to which, in the opinion of all obſervers, but few fall a ſacrifice. It muſt therefore originate from the manner in which theſe ſlaves are governed: and might not an error of this nature be corrected?

In what manner the condition of ſlaves might be rendered more ſupportable.

The firſt ſtep neceſſary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral ſtate of man. Thoſe who go to purchaſe blacks on the coaſts of ſavage nations; thoſe who convey them to America, and eſpecially thoſe who direct their labours, often think themſelves obliged, from their ſituation, and frequently too for the ſake of their own ſafety, to oppreſs theſe wretched men. The heart of thoſe who conduct the ſlaves is loſt to all ſenſe of compaſſion, is ignorant of every motive

motive to enforce obedience, except thoſe of fear or ſeverity, and theſe are exerciſed with all the ferocious ſpirit of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would ceaſe to regard the care of their ſlaves, as an occupation below them, and conſider it as an office to which it is their duty to attend, they would ſoon diſcard theſe errors that ariſe from a ſpirit of cruelty. The hiſtory of all mankind would ſhew them, that, in order to render ſlavery uſeful, it is, at leaſt, neceſſary to make it eaſy; that force doth not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the maſter's intereſt that the ſlave ſhould be attached to life, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

This principle of enlightened reaſon, derived from the ſentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of ſeveral abuſes. Men would acknowlege the neceſſity of lodging, clothing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the moſt painful bondage that hath ever exiſted ſince the infamous origin of ſlavery. They would be ſenſible, that it is naturally impoſſible that thoſe who reap no advantage from their own labours, can have the ſame underſtanding, the ſame œconomy, the ſame activity, the ſame ſtrength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his induſtry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which conſiſts in leſſening labour, alleviating puniſhment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap, with greater certainty, the benefit of thoſe duties that are impoſed upon him. The preſervation of a great number

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of ſlaves, whom diſorders occaſioned by vexation or regret deprive the colonies of, would be the natural conſequence of ſo wiſe a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppreſſes them, every kind of attention ſhould be given to make it eaſy, and to diſſipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural propenſity that ſeems peculiar to the Negroes.

THEIR organs are extremely ſenſible of the powers of muſic. Their ear is ſo true, that in their dances, the time of a ſong makes them ſpring up a hundred at once, ſtriking the earth at the ſame inſtant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of a ſinger, or the tone of a ſtringed inſtrument, a vibration of the air is the ſpirit that actuates all the bodies of theſe men: a ſound agitates, tranſports, and throws them into extaſies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they ſing, and ſeem always as if they were dancing. Muſic animates their courage, and rouzes them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme ſenſibility to harmony are viſible in all the muſcles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and muſicians by nature, they make the words ſubſervient to the muſic, by a licence they arbitrarily aſſume of lengthening or ſhortening them, in order to accommodate them to any air that pleaſes them. Whenever any object or incident ſtrikes a Negro, he inſtantly makes it the ſubject of a ſong. In all ages this hath been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the ſinger and the general

neral chorus, ſometimes conſtitute the whole poem. Five or ſix bars of muſic compoſe the whole length of the ſong. A circumſtance that appears ſingular, is, that the ſame air, though merely a continual repetition of the ſame tones, takes entire poſſeſſion of them, makes them work or dance for ſeveral hours: neither they, nor even the white men, are diſguſted with that tedious uniformity which theſe repetitions might naturally occaſion. This particular attachment is owen to the warmth and expreſſion which they introduce into their ſongs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inſpire them with pride. Thoſe intended to excite tenderneſs, promote rather a kind of languor. Even thoſe which are moſt lively, carry in them a certain expreſſion of melancholy. This is the higheſt entertainment to minds of great ſenſibility.

So ſtrong an inclination for muſic might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of ſkilful hands. Feſtivals, games, and rewards, might on this account be eſtabliſhed among them. Theſe amuſements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that ſtupidity ſo common among ſlaves, eaſe their labours, and preſerve them from that conſtant melancholy which conſumes them, and ſhortens their days. After having provided for the preſervation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of thoſe who were born in the iſlands themſelves, would then be conſidered.

THE Negroes are not averſe from the propagation of their ſpecies, even in the chains of ſlavery. But it is the cruelty of the maſters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from Negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a ſhort time after delivery. Mothers, rendered deſperate by the puniſhments which the weakneſs of their condition occaſions them, ſometimes ſnatch their children from the cradle, in order to ſtrangle them in their arms, and ſacrifice them with a fury mingled with a ſpirit of revenge and compaſſion, that they may not become the property of their cruel maſters. This barbarity, the horror of which muſt be wholly imputed to the Europeans, will perhaps convince them of their error. Their ſenſibility will be rouzed, and engage them to pay a greater attention to their true intereſts. They will find, that by committing ſuch outrages againſt humanity, they injure themſelves; and if they do not become the benefactors of their ſlaves, they will at leaſt ceaſe to be their executioners.

THEY will, perhaps, reſolve to ſet free thoſe mothers who ſhall have brought up a conſiderable number of children to the age of ſix years. The allurements of liberty are the moſt powerful that can influence the human heart. The Negro women, animated by the hope of ſo great a bleſſing, to which all would aſpire, and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be ſucceeded

ſucceeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whoſe number and preſervation would ſecure to them freedom and tranquillity.

AFTER having taken wiſe meaſures not to deprive their plantations of thoſe ſuccours ariſing from the extraordinary fruitfulneſs of the Negro women; they will attend to the care of conducting and extending cultivation by means of population, and without foreign expedients. Every thing invites them to eſtabliſh this eaſy and natural ſyſtem.

THERE are ſome powers, whoſe ſettlements in the American iſles every day acquire extent, and there are none whoſe manual labour doth not continually increaſe. Theſe lands, therefore, conſtantly require a greater number of hands to clear them. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit the population of the colonies, gradually furniſhes them with fewer men, and ſupplies them at the ſame time with worſe ſlaves, and at a higher price. This ſource for the obtaining ſlaves will be gradually more and more exhauſted. But were this change in trade as chimerical, as it ſeems to be not far diſtant, it is nevertheleſs certain, that a great number of ſlaves draw'n out of a remote region, periſh in their paſſage, or in the New World; and that when they come to America they are ſold at a very advanced price; that there are few of them whoſe natural term of life is not ſhortened; and that the greater part of thoſe who attain a wretched old age, are extremely ignorant, and being accuſtomed from their infancy to idleneſs, are frequently very unfit for the employ-

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ments to which they are deſtined, and are in a continual ſtate of deſpondency, on account of their being ſeparated from their country. If we do not miſtake in our opinion, cultivators born in the American iſlands themſelves, always breathing their native air, brought up without any other expence than what conſiſts in a cheap food, habituated in early life to labour by their own parents, endowed with a ſufficient ſhare of underſtanding, or a ſingular aptitude for all the uſeful arts; ſuch cultivators cannot but be preferable to ſlaves that have been ſold, and live in a ſtate of perpetual exile and reſtraint.

The method of ſubſtituting in the place of foreign Negroes thoſe of the colonies themſelves, is very obvious. It wholly conſiſts in ſuperintending the black children that are born in the iſlands, in confining to their workhouſes that multitude of ſlaves who carry about with them their worthleſſneſs, their licentiouſneſs, and the luxury and inſolence of their maſters, in all the towns and ports of Europe; but above all, in requiring of navigators who frequent the African coaſts, that they ſhould form their cargo of an equal number of men and women, or even of a majority of women, during ſome years, in order to reduce that diſproportion which prevails between the two ſexes.

This laſt precaution, by putting the pleaſures of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their eaſe and multiplication. Theſe unhappy men, forgetting the weight of their chains, would with tranſport ſee themſelves live again

again in their children. The majority of them are faithful, even to death, to thoſe Negro women whom love and ſlavery have aſſigned to them for their companions; they treat them with that compaſſion which the wretched mutually derive from one another, even in the rigour of their condition; they comfort them under the load of their employments; they ſympathize, at leaſt, with them, when, through exceſs of labour, or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breaſt that is dry, or bathed in her tears. The women, on their part, though tied down to no reſtrictions of chaſtity, are fixed in their attachments; provided that the vanity of being beloved by white people does not render them inconſtant. Unhappily this is a temptation to infidelity, to which they have too often opportunities to yield.

Those who have inquired into the cauſes of this taſte for black women, which appears to be ſo depraved in the Europeans, have found it to ariſe from the nature of the climate, which, under the torrid zone, irreſiſtibly excites men to the pleaſures of love; the facility of gratifying this inſurmountable inclination without reſtraint, and without the trouble of a long purſuit; from a certain captivating attraction of beauty, diſcoverable in black women, as ſoon as cuſtom hath once reconciled the eye to their colour; but principally from a warmth of conſtitution, which gives them the power of inſpiring and returning the moſt ardent tranſports. Thus they revenge themſelves, as it were, for the humiliating deſpondency of their condition, by the violent and inordinate paſſion

paſſion which they excite in their maſters; nor do our ladies in Europe poſſeſs, in a more exalted degree, the art of waſting and running out large fortunes than the Negro women. But thoſe of Africa have the ſuperiority over thoſe of Europe, in the real paſſion they have for the men who purchaſe them. The happy diſcovery and prevention of conſpiracies that would have deſtroyed all their oppreſſors by the hands of their ſlaves, hath been often owen to the faithful attachment of theſe Negro women. The double tyranny of theſe unworthy uſurpers of the eſtates and liberty of ſuch a number of people, deſerved, doubtleſs, ſuch a puniſhment.

Origin and progreſs of ſlavery. Arguments made uſe of to juſtify it. Refutation of them.

We will not here ſo far debaſe ourſelves as to enlarge the ignominious liſt of thoſe writers who devote their abilities, to juſtify by policy what is reprobated by morality. In an age where ſo many errors are boldly expoſed, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is intereſting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath ſeemingly tended only to alleviate the burthen of ſlavery, the reaſon is, that it was firſt neceſſary to give ſome comfort to thoſe unhappy beings, whom we cannot ſet free; and convince their oppreſſors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real intereſts. But, in the mean time, until ſome conſiderable revolution ſhall make the evidence of this great truth felt, it may not be improper to purſue this ſubject further. We ſhall then firſt prove, that there is no reaſon of ſtate that can authoriſe ſlavery. We ſhall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reaſon and

and juſtice thoſe governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not aſhamed to make it the baſis of their power.

SLAVERY is a ſtate in which a man hath loſt, either by force or by convention, the property of his own perſon, and of whom a maſter can diſpoſe as of his own effects.

THIS odious ſtate was unknow'n in the firſt ages. Men were all equals; but that natural equality did not laſt long. As there was not yet any regular form of government eſtabliſhed to maintain ſocial order; as none of the lucrative profeſſions exiſted, which the progreſs of civiliſation hath ſince introduced among the nations, the ſtrongeſt, or the moſt artful, ſoon ſeized upon the beſt territories; and the weakeſt, and leſs cunning, were obliged to ſubmit to thoſe who were able to feed and to defend them. This ſtate of dependence was tolerable. In the ſimplicity of ancient manners, there was no great difference between a maſter and his ſervants. Their dreſs, their food, their lodging, were almoſt alike. If, at any time, the ſuperior, impetuous and violent, as ſavages generally are, gave way to the ferociouſneſs of his character, this was a tranſitory act, which made no alteration in the habitual ſtate of things. But this arrangement did not long ſubſiſt. Thoſe who commanded, readily accuſtomed themſelves to believe, that they were of a ſuperior nature to thoſe who obeyed. They kept them at a diſtance, and debaſed them. This contempt was attended with fatal conſequences;

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quences; the idea of conſidering theſe unfortunate people as ſlaves grew familiar; and they became really ſo. Each maſter diſpoſed of them in the manner which was the moſt favourable to his intereſt and to his paſſions. A maſter who had no further uſe for their labour, ſold or exchanged them: and he who was deſirous of increaſing the number of them, encouraged them to multiply.

When ſocieties, become more ſtrong and more numerous, acquired a knowlege of the arts and of commerce; the weak found a ſupport in the magiſtrate, and the poor found reſources in the ſeveral branches of induſtry. They both emerged, by degrees, from the kind of neceſſity they had experienced of ſubmitting to ſlavery, in order to procure ſubſiſtence. The cuſtom of putting one's ſelf in the power of another, became every day leſs frequent, and liberty was at length conſidered as a precious and unalienable property.

In the mean while, the laws, which were imperfect and ferocious, ſtill continued, for ſome time, to impoſe the penalty of ſervitude. As in the times of profound ignorance, the ſatisfaction of the offended perſon was the only aim which an ill-contrived authority propoſed, thoſe who had infringed the principles of juſtice, with regard to the perſon who accuſed them, were given up to him. The tribunals were afterwards determined by more extenſive and more uſeful views. Every crime appeared to them, and with reaſon, an offence againſt ſociety; and the criminal became

came the ſlave of the ſtate, which diſpoſed of him in the manner moſt advantageous for the public good. At that period there were no other captives, except thoſe acquired in war.

BEFORE a power was eſtabliſhed to maintain order, the conteſts between individuals were very frequent, and the conqueror never failed to reduce the vanquiſhed to a ſtate of ſervitude. This cuſtom continued for a long time, in the diſputes between nations, becauſe, as each combatant took the field at his own expence, he remained maſter of the priſoners he had taken himſelf, or of thoſe which, in the diviſion of the ſpoil, were given to him as a reward for his actions. But when the armies became mercenary, the government, who were at the expence of the war, and who ran the riſk of the event, appropriated to themſelves the ſpoils of the enemy, of which the priſoners were always the moſt important part. It was then neceſſary to purchaſe ſlaves from the ſtate, or from the neighbouring ſavage nations. Such was the practice of the Greeks, and of the Romans, and of all people who choſe to increaſe their enjoyments, by this inhuman and barbarous cuſtom.

EUROPE relapſed again into the chaos of the primary ages, when the people of the North ſubverted the coloſſal empire, which had been raiſed, with ſo much glory, by a warlike and politic republic. Theſe barbarians, who had had ſlaves in the midſt of their foreſts, multiplied them prodigiouſly in the provinces which they invaded. Not only thoſe who were taken in arms,

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arms, were reduced to ſervitude, this humiliating ſtate became alſo the portion of citizens, who cultivated quietly at home the arts which flouriſh in times of peace. However, the number of freemen was more conſiderable in the ſubdued countries, during the time that the conquerors remained faithful to the form of government which they had thought proper to eſtabliſh, in order to contain their new ſubjects, and to protect them from foreign invaſions. But, no ſooner had this ſingular inſtitution, which collected a nation, commonly diſperſed, into a conſtantly ſtanding army, loſt it's influence; no ſooner had the fortunate affinities which united the meaneſt ſoldier of this powerful body to their King, or to their General, ceaſed to exiſt, than a ſyſtem of univerſal oppreſſion was eſtabliſhed. There was no longer any remarkable diſtinction between thoſe who had preſerved their independence, and thoſe who had for a long time groaned under the yoke of ſlavery.

The men who were free, whether they were inhabitants of the towns, or of the country, reſided upon the king's domains, or upon the territories of ſome baron. All thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of fiefs, pretended, in thoſe times of anarchy, that a man who enjoyed no diſtinction from birth, whoever he might be, could only poſſeſs a precarious kind of property, which had originally proceeded from their liberality. This prejudice, perhaps, the moſt extravagant that hath ever afflicted the human ſpecies, perſuaded the nobles that they could never be guilty of injuſtice,

injuſtice, whatever were the obligations they might impoſe upon ſo baſe an order of beings.

ACCORDING to theſe principles, they were not allowed to abſent themſelves, without leave, from their native country. They were not allowed to diſpoſe of their property, either by will, or by any other act made in their life-time; and their Lord was their undoubted heir, when they died without leaving any poſterity, or when this poſterity were fixed in another part of the country. They were not allowed to appoint guardians to their children; and the liberty of marrying was granted to thoſe only who had purchaſed it. So much was it apprehended that the people ſhould acquire an inſight on their rights and intereſts, that the liberty of learning to read was one of the favours granted with the moſt reluctance. They were compelled to the moſt humiliating vaſſalages. The taxes which were impoſed upon them were arbitrary, unjuſt, oppreſſive, and deſtructive of the ſpirit of activity and induſtry. They were obliged to bear the tyrant's expences when he arrived; their proviſions, their furniture, their flocks, were all abandoned to pillage. If a law-ſuit was begun, it was not poſſible to end it in an amicable manner, becauſe this method would have deprived the lord of the rights that were to accrue to him from the ſentence. Every kind of exchange between individuals was prohibited, at the period when the lord of the manor choſe himſelf to ſell the proviſions which they had collected, or which they had even purchaſed. Such was the ſtate of oppreſſion under

 which

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which the claſs of people groaned who were the leaſt ill-treated. If any of the vexations we have juſt given an account of, were unknow'n in certain places, others were ſubſtituted to them which were often more intolerable.

Some towns in Italy, which by fortunate chance had acquired the poſſeſſion of ſome branches of commerce, were the firſt to be aſhamed of ſuch a ſituation; and their riches furniſhed them with the means of ſhaking off the yoke of their feeble deſpots. Others purchaſed their liberty of the Emperors, who, in the courſe of the bloody and laſting diſputes which they had with the Popes, and with their vaſſals, thought themſelves exceedingly fortunate to ſell privileges, which the ſtate of their affairs did not permit them to refuſe. Some princes were even prudent enough to ſacrifice that part of their authority, which the ferment excited in men's minds, made them foreſee that they ſhould ſoon be deprived of. Several of theſe towns remained inſulated; but the majority united their intereſts. All of them formed political ſocieties, governed by laws which had been dictated by the citizens themſelves.

The ſucceſs with which this revolution in government was attended, ſurprized the neighbouring nations. In the mean while, as the kings, and barons who oppreſſed them, were not compelled by circumſtances to give up their ſovereignty, they contented themſelves with granting to the towns in their dependence valuable and conſiderable immunities. They were authorized to

ſurround

ſurround themſelves with walls, to bear arms, and to pay no more than a regular and moderate tribute. Liberty was ſo eſſential a point of their conſtitution, that whenever a bondſman took refuge among them, he became a citizen, if he was not claimed during the courſe of the year. Theſe communities, or municipal bodies, proſpered in proportion to their poſition, their population, and their induſtry.

While the condition of men, reputed free, was ſo fortunately improved, that of the ſlaves remained the ſame; that is to ſay, the moſt deplorable which it is poſſible to conceive. Theſe wretched people belonged ſo entirely to their maſters, that they ſold or exchanged them at pleaſure. They were not allowed any kind of property, even out of their ſavings, whenever a fixed ſum was aſſigned them for their ſubſiſtence. They were put to the torture for the ſmalleſt miſdemeanor. They might be puniſhed with death, without the interference of the magiſtrate. Marriage was for a long time forbidden to them; the connections between the two ſexes were illegal; they were tolerated, and even encouraged, but they were not honoured with the nuptial benediction. The condition of the children was the ſame as that of their fathers; they were born, they lived, and they died in ſlavery. In moſt of the courts of judicature, their teſtimony was not admitted againſt a free man. They were obliged to wear a particular dreſs; and this humiliating diſtinction recalled every moment to their minds the ignominy of their exiſtence. To complete

theſe misfortunes, the ſpirit of the feudal ſyſtem oppoſed the disfranchiſement of this ſpecies of men. A generous maſter might indeed break the bonds of his domeſtic ſlaves whenever he choſe; but innumerable formalities were required to change the ſituation of the ſlaves which belonged to the glebe. According to a maxim generally received, a vaſſal could not diminiſh the value of the fief which he had received; and the releaſing of any of it's cultivators was diminiſhing it. This obſtacle muſt neceſſarily have retarded, but could not entirely prevent the revolution, and for the following reaſon:

The Germans, and the other conquerors, had appropriated immenſe domains to themſelves at the time of their invaſion. The nature of theſe eſtates did not allow them to be diſmembered. From that time it became impoſſible for the proprietor to retain all his ſlaves under his own inſpection, and he was compelled to diſperſe them over the ſoil they were to cultivate. Their diſtance preventing their being overlooked, it was thought proper to encourage them by rewards proportioned to their labour. Thus gratifications, which moſt commonly conſiſted of a greater or leſs conſiderable part of the produce of the lands, were added to their uſual maintenance.

By this arrangement the *villains* formed a kind of aſſociation with their maſters. The riches which they acquired in this advantageous market enabled them to offer a fixed rent for the grounds with which they were intruſted, upon condition that the overplus ſhould belong to them. As the lords

lords acquired by theſe means, without riſk or uneaſineſs, from their poſſeſſions, as much, or more income, than they had formerly obtained, this practice gained credit, and was ſoon univerſally adopted. It was no longer the intereſt of the proprietor to attend to ſlaves who cultivated at their own expence, and who were exact in their payments. Thus ended this perſonal ſlavery.

It ſometimes happened, that a bold enterpriſing man, who had laid out conſiderable funds on his farm, was driven from it before he had reaped the fruits of his advances. This inconvenience occaſioned the requiſition of leaſes for ſeveral years. They were extended, in proceſs of time, to the whole life of the cultivator, and were often ſettled upon his moſt diſtant poſterity. This was the termination of real ſlavery.

This great change, brought on in a manner by itſelf, was haſtened by a cauſe which deſerves to be obſerved. All the European governments were then ariſtocratic. The chief of every republic was perpetually at war with his barons. Being for the moſt part unable to reſiſt them by force, he was obliged to have recourſe to artifice. That artifice, which was employed to the greateſt advantage, was to protect the ſlaves againſt the tyranny of their maſters, and to undermine the power of the nobles, by diminiſhing the dependence of their ſubjects. It is not improbable but that ſome Kings favoured the ſpirit of liberty, from the only motive of general utility; but moſt of them were viſibly induced to adopt this fortunate policy, more on account of

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their perſonal intereſts, than from principles of humanity and benevolence.

However this may be, the revolution was ſo complete, that liberty became more general throughout the greateſt part of Europe, than it had been in any climate, or in any age. In all antient governments, in thoſe even which are always propoſed to us as models, moſt of the people were condemned to a ſhameful and cruel ſervitude. The more the ſocieties acquired knowlege, riches, and power, the more did the number of ſlaves increaſe, and the more deplorable became their fate. Athens reckoned twenty vaſſals to one citizen. The diſproportion was ſtill greater at Rome, become the miſtreſs of the univerſe. In both the republics, ſlavery was carried to the utmoſt exceſs of fatigue, of miſery, and of ignominy. Since it hath been aboliſhed among us, the people are infinitely more happy, even under the moſt deſpotic empires, than they were formerly under the beſt regulated democracies.

But no ſooner was domeſtic liberty revived in Europe, than it was annihilated in America. The Spaniards, whom the waves firſt caſt upon theſe ſhores of the New World, did not imagine they owed any duties to a ſet of men who were not of their complexion, and who did not practiſe their cuſtoms or their religion. They conſidered them only as the inſtruments of their avarice, and loaded them with irons. Theſe weak men, who had not the habit of labour, ſoon expired among the vapours of the mines, or in other occupations almoſt as deſtructive. Slaves were then ſent for

for from Africa. Their number hath increaſed, in proportion as the cultivations have been extended. The Portugueze, the Dutch, the Engliſh, the French, the Danes, all theſe nations, whether free or enſlaved, have ſought, without remorſe, an increaſe of fortune in the labours, the blood, and the deſpair of theſe unfortunate people. What a horrid ſyſtem!

LIBERTY is the property of one's ſelf. Three kinds of it are diſtinguiſhed. Natural liberty, civil liberty, and political liberty: that is to ſay, the liberty of the individual, the liberty of the citizen, and the liberty of a nation. Natural liberty is the right granted by nature to every man to diſpoſe of himſelf at pleaſure. Civil liberty is the right which is inſured by ſociety to every citizen, of doing every thing which is not contrary to the laws. Political liberty is the ſtate of a people who have not alienated their ſovereignty, and who either make their own laws, or who conſtitute a part in the ſyſtem of their legiſlation.

THE firſt of theſe liberties is, after reaſon, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of man. Brutes are chained up, and kept in ſubjection, becauſe they have no notion of what is juſt or unjuſt, no idea of grandeur or meanneſs. But in man, liberty is the principle of his vices or his virtues. None but a free man can ſay, *I will*, or *I will not*; and conſequently none but a free man can be worthy of praiſe, or be liable to cenſure.

WITHOUT liberty, or the property of one's own body, and the enjoyment of one's mind, no man

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can be either a huſband, a father, a relation, or a friend; he hath neither a country, a fellow citizen, nor a God. The ſlave, impelled by the wicked man, and who is the inſtrument of his wickedneſs, is inferior even to the dog, let looſe by the Spaniard upon the American; for conſcience, which the dog hath not, ſtill remains with the man. He who baſely abdicates his liberty, gives himſelf up to remorſe, and to the greateſt miſery which can be experienced by a thinking and ſenſible being. If there be not any power under the heavens, which can change my nature and reduce me to the ſtate of brutes, there is none which can diſpoſe of my liberty. God is my father, and not my maſter; I am his child, and not his ſlave. How is it poſſible that I ſhould grant to political power, what I refuſe to divine omnipotence?

Will theſe eternal and immutable truths, the foundation of all morality, the baſis of all rational government, be conteſted? They will, and the audacious argument will be dictated by barbarous and ſordid avarice. Behold that proprietor of a veſſel, who leaning upon his deſk, and with the pen in his hand, regulates the number of enormities he may cauſe to be committed on the Coaſts of Guinea; who conſiders at leiſure, what number of firelocks he ſhall want to obtain one Negro, what fetters will be neceſſary to keep him chained on board his ſhip, what whips will be required to make him work; who calculates with coolneſs, every drop of blood which the ſlave muſt neceſſarily expend in labour for him, and how much it

it will produce; who conſiders whether a Negro woman will be of more advantage to him by her feeble labours, or by going through the dangers of child-birth. You ſhudder!—If there exiſted any religion which tolerated, or which gave only a tacit ſanction to ſuch kind of horrors; if, abſorbed in ſome idle or ſeditious queſtions, it did not inceſſantly exclaim againſt the authors or the inſtruments of this tyranny; if it ſhould conſider it as a crime in a ſlave to break his chains; if it ſhould ſuffer to remain in it's community, the iniquitous judge who condemns the fugitive to death: if ſuch a religion, I ſay, exiſted, ought not the miniſters of it to be ſuffocated under the ruins of their altars?

Men or demons, which ever you are, will you dare to juſtify the attempts you make againſt my independence, by pleading the right of the ſtrongeſt? What, is not the man who wants to enſlave me, guilty? Doth he only make uſe of his rights? Where are theſe rights? Who hath ſtamped them with a character ſacred enough to ſilence mine? I hold from nature the right of defending myſelf, and it hath not given thee that of attacking me. If thou doſt think thyſelf authoriſed to oppreſs me, becauſe thou art ſtronger or more dextrous than I am, complain not if my vigorous arm ſhall rip up thy boſom in ſearch of thy heart. Complain not, when in thy tor'n entrails, thou ſhalt feel that death which I ſhall have conveyed into them with thy food. I am ſtronger or more dextrous than thou

art; be the victim in thy turn, and expiate the crime of having been an oppreſſor.

But, it is alleged, that in all regions, and in all ages, ſlavery hath been more or leſs eſtabliſhed.

I grant it; but what doth it ſignify to me, what other people in other ages have done? Are we to appeal to the cuſtoms of antient times, or to our conſcience? Are we to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt, of infatuation, and of barbariſm, rather than to thoſe of reaſon and of juſtice? If the univerſality of a practice were admitted as a proof of it's innocence, we ſhould then have a complete apology for uſurpations, conqueſts, and for every ſpecies of oppreſſion.

But the antients, it is ſaid, thought themſelves to be maſters of the lives of their ſlaves; and we, become more humane, diſpoſe only of their liberty and of their labours.

It is true, the progreſs of knowlege hath enlightened the minds of all modern legiſlators upon this important point. All codes of laws, without exception, have exerted themſelves for the preſervation of man, even of him who languiſhes in a ſtate of ſlavery. They have agreed, that his exiſtence ſhould be put under the protection of the magiſtrates, and that the tribunals of juſtice alone ſhould be able to haſten the end of it. But hath this law, the moſt ſacred of all ſocial inſtitutions, ever been put in force? Is not America peopled with atrocious coloniſts, who inſolently uſurp the rights of the ſovereign, and deſtroy by the ſword, or by fire, the unfortunate victims of their avarice? Doth not this

this ſacrilegious infraction of the laws, to the diſgrace of all Europe, ſtill remain unpuniſhed? I challenge any defender or panegyriſt of our humanity and of our juſtice, to adduce an inſtance of any one of theſe aſſaſſins having loſt their life upon a ſcaffold.

Let us ſuppoſe, that the regulations, which, according to the panegyriſt, do ſo much honour to our age, be ſtrictly obſerved; will the ſlave be, on that account, much leſs an object of compaſſion? What! does not the maſter, who diſpoſes of my ſtrength at his pleaſure, likewiſe diſpoſe of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper uſe of my faculties? What is exiſtence to him, who has not the diſpoſal of it? I cannot kill my ſlave; but I can make him bleed under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with ſorrows, drudgery, and want; I can injure him every way, and ſecretly undermine the principles and ſprings of his life; I can ſmother, by ſlow puniſhments, the wretched infant which a Negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the ſlave againſt a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees. The right of ſlavery is in fact, that of perpetrating all ſorts of crimes: thoſe crimes which invade property; for ſlaves are not ſuffered to have any even in their own perſons: thoſe crimes which deſtroy perſonal ſafety; for the ſlave may be ſacrificed to the caprice of his maſter: thoſe crimes which make modeſty ſhudder.——My blood riſes at theſe horrid images. I deteſt, I abhor the human ſpecies, compoſed

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compoſed only of victims and executioners; and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

But theſe Negroes, ſay they, are a race of men born for ſlavery; their diſpoſitions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themſelves allow the ſuperiority of our underſtandings, and almoſt acknowlege the juſtice of our authority.

The minds of the Negroes are contracted; becauſe ſlavery deſtroys all the ſprings of the ſoul. They are wicked; but not ſufficiently ſo with you. They are treacherous; becauſe they are under no obligation to ſpeak truth to their tyrants. They acknowlege the ſuperiority of our underſtandings, becauſe we have perpetuated their ignorance: they allow the juſtice of our authority, becauſe we have abuſed their weakneſs. As it was impoſſible for us to maintain our ſuperiority by force, we have, by a criminal policy, had recourſe to cunning. We have almoſt perſuaded them that they were a ſingular ſpecies, born only for dependence, for ſubjection, for labour, and for chaſtiſement. We have neglected nothing that might tend to degrade theſe unfortunate people, and we have afterwards upbraided them for their meanneſs.

But theſe Negroes, it is further urged, were born ſlaves.

Barbarians, will you perſuade me, that a man can be the property of a ſovereign, a ſon the property of a father, a wife the property of a huſband, a domeſtic the property of a maſter, a Negro the property of a planter?

PROUD and diſdainful being, who do'ſt diſavow thy brethren, wilt thou never perceive that this contempt recoils upon thyſelf? If thou do'ſt wiſh that thy pride ſhould be ennobled, exert a ſufficient elevation of mind, to make it conſiſt in the neceſſary affinities which thou haſt with theſe unfortunate men whom thou do'ſt debaſe.

ONE common father, an immortal ſoul, a future ſtate of felicity, ſuch is thy true glory, and ſuch likewiſe is their's.

BUT, it is government itſelf that ſells the ſlaves.

How did the ſtate acquire that right? Let the magiſtrate be ever ſo abſolute, is he proprietor of the ſubjects ſubmitted to his empire? Hath he any further authority, but that with which he is intruſted by the citizen? And have any people ever had the privilege of diſpoſing of their liberty?

BUT theſe ſlaves have ſold themſelves. If they belong to themſelves, they have a right to diſpoſe of themſelves. It is his buſineſs to put a price on his liberty; and when that is ſettled, whoever gives him the money, hath acquired a legal right over him.

No man hath the right of ſelling himſelf; becauſe he hath no right to accede to every thing which an unjuſt, violent, and depraved maſter might require of him. He is the property of God, who is his firſt maſter, and from whoſe authority he is never releaſed. The man who ſells him, makes a deceitful bargain with his purchaſer, becauſe he loſes his own value. And the

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the money, as ſoon as it is paid to him, remains, with his perſon, in the hands of his maſter. What property can a man be in poſſeſſion of, who hath given up every right of property? Nothing can belong to him who hath agreed to have nothing. He cannot even have virtue, honeſty, nor a will of his own. The man who hath reduced himſelf to the condition of a deſtructive weapon, is a madman, and not a ſlave. A man may ſell his life, in the ſame manner as a ſoldier does, but he cannot as a ſlave; and this conſtitutes the difference of the two conditions.

But theſe ſlaves had been taken in war, and would have been murdered if we had not interfered.

Would there have been any wars without you? Are not the diſſentions among thoſe people owen to yourſelves? Do you not carry deſtructive weapons to them? Do you not inſpire them with the deſire of uſing them? Will your veſſels never forſake thoſe deplorable ſhores, till after the deſtruction of the miſerable race who inhabit them? Why do you not ſuffer the victor to make what uſe he chooſes of his victory; and why do you become his accomplice?

But they were criminals, who deſerved death, or the greateſt puniſhments, and were condemned in their own country to ſlavery. Are you then the executioners of the people of Africa? Beſide, who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a deſpotic ſtate there is no criminal but the tyrant? The ſubject of an abſolute prince

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is the ſame as the ſlave in a ſtate repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in ſuch a ſtate, is an attempt againſt his perſon. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies: and all thoſe who are about him, are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the firſt leſſons of obedience; his neighbour, who ſet him the example of it; his ſuperiors, who compelled him into this ſtate; and his equals, who led him into it by their opinion: all theſe are the miniſters and inſtruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himſelf; he is only the *primum mobile* of thoſe efforts which all his ſubjects exert to their own mutual oppreſſion. He keeps them in a ſtate of perpetual war, which renders robberies, treaſons, aſſaſſinations lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary ſource. Caligula uſed to ſay, that if the whole human race had had but one head, he ſhould have taken pleaſure in cutting it off. Socrates would have ſaid, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that ſhould be the one which ought to be ſtricken off.

But they enjoy more felicity in America, than they did in Africa.

Wherefore then are theſe ſlaves conſtantly ſighing after their own country? Why do they reſume their liberty as ſoon as they are able? Why do they prefer deſerts, and the ſociety of wild beaſts, to a condition that appears to you ſo

ſo mild? Why doth deſpair induce them to deſtroy themſelves, or to poiſon you? Why do their women ſo frequently procure abortion, in order that their children may not partake of their melancholy deſtiny? When you ſpeak to us of the happineſs of your ſlaves, you are falſe to yourſelves, and you deceive us. It is the utmoſt pitch of extravagance to attempt to transform ſo ſtrange a barbarity into an act of humanity.

But it is urged, that in Europe, as well as in America, the people are ſlaves. The only advantage we have over the Negroes is, that we can break one chain to put on another.

It is but too true; moſt nations are enſlaved. The multitude is generally ſacrificed to the paſſions of a few privileged oppreſſors. There is ſcarce a region known, where a man can flatter himſelf that he is maſter of his perſon, that he can diſpoſe, at pleaſure, of his inheritance; and that he can quietly enjoy the fruits of his induſtry. Even in thoſe countries that are leaſt under the yoke of ſervitude, the citizen deprived of the produce of his labour, by the wants inceſſantly renewed of a rapacious or needy government, is continually reſtrained in the moſt lawful means of acquiring felicity. Liberty is ſtifled in all parts, by extravagant ſuperſtitions, by barbarous cuſtoms, and by obſolete laws. It will one day certainly riſe again from it's aſhes. In proportion as morality and policy ſhall be improved, man will recover his rights. But wherefore, while we are waiting for theſe fortunate times, and theſe enlightened ages of proſperity,

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wherefore muſt there be an unfortunate race, to whom even the comfortable and honourable name of freeman is denied, and who, notwithſtanding the inſtability of events, muſt be deprived of the hope even of obtaining it? Whatever, therefore, may be ſaid, the condition of theſe unfortunate people is very different from our's.

THE laſt argument which hath been uſed in juſtification of ſlavery, hath been to ſay, that it was the only method which could be found to lead Negroes to the bleſſings of eternal life, by the great benefit of baptiſm.

O BENEFICENT JESUS! how is it poſſible that thy mild maxims could have been perverted to juſtify ſuch an infinite number of horrid acts? If the Chriſtian religion, did really thus give a ſanction to the avarice of empires, it's ſanguinary tenets ought for ever to be proſcribed. It ſhould either be aboliſhed, or it ſhould diſavow, in the face of the whole univerſe, the enormities that are imputed to it. Let not it's miniſters be apprehenſive of diſplaying too much enthuſiaſm upon ſuch a ſubject. The more they ſhall be inflamed upon it, the better will they ſerve their cauſe. Tranquillity would be criminal in them, and wiſdom will break forth in their tranſports.

THE man who defends the ſyſtem of ſlavery, will undoubtedly complain, that we have not allowed to his arguments all the energy of which they were ſuſceptible. This may poſſibly be. Who is the man, who would proſtitute his talents in the defence of the moſt abominable of all cauſes,

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cauſes, or who would employ his eloquence, if he had any, in the juſtification of a multitude of murders already committed, and of a multitude of others ready to be perpetrated? Executioner of thy brethren, take thyſelf the pen in thy hand if thou dareſt, quiet the perturbations of thy conſcience, and harden thine accomplices in their crimes.

I COULD have refuted with greater energy, and more at large, the arguments I had to combat; but the ſubject was not worth the pains. Are many exertions due, or muſt the utmoſt intenſeneſs of thought be beſtowed upon him who doth not ſpeak as he thinks? Would not the ſilence of contempt be more ſuitable, than diſpute with him who pleads for his own intereſt againſt juſtice and againſt his own conviction?

I HAVE already ſaid too much for the honeſt and feeling man. I ſhall never be able to ſay enough for the inhuman trader.

LET us, therefore, haſten to ſubſtitute the light of reaſon and the ſentiments of nature to the blind ferociouſneſs of our anceſtors. Let us break the bonds of ſo many victims to our mercenary principles, ſhould we even be obliged to diſcard a commerce which is founded only on injuſtice, and the object of which is luxury.

BUT even this is not neceſſary. There is no occaſion to give up thoſe conveniencies which cuſtom hath ſo much endeared to us. We may draw them from Africa itſelf. The moſt valuable of them are indigenous there, and it would be an eaſy matter to naturalize the others. Can there

there be a doubt, that a people who ſell their children in order to ſatisfy ſome tranſient caprices, would determine to cultivate their lands, that they might enjoy, habitually, all the advantages of a virtuous and well-regulated ſociety?

Perhaps it would not even be impoſſible to obtain theſe productions from the colonies without peopling them with ſlaves. The proviſions might be gathered by the hands of free people, and would from that time be conſumed without remorſe.

In order to obtain this end, which is generally conſidered as chimerical, it would not be neceſſary, according to the ideas of an enlightened man, to releaſe from their chains thoſe unfortunate people, who are either born, or have grow'n old in ſervitude. Theſe ſtupid men who would not have been prepared for ſuch a change of ſituation, would be incapable of conducting themſelves, they would ſpend their lives in habitual indolence, or in the commiſſion of all kinds of crimes. The great benefit of liberty muſt be preſerved for their poſterity, and even that with ſome modifications. Theſe children, till they attain their twentieth year, ſhould belong to the maſters of the manufacture or plantation where they were born, in order that he may be reimburſed the expences which he will have been obliged to incur for bringing them up. The five following years they ſhould ſtill be obliged to ſerve him, but for a ſtipulated ſalary ſettled by the law. After this time they ſhould be independent, provided their conduct had not deſerved

much cenſure. If they ſhould have been guilty of any weighty crime, they ſhould be condemned by the magiſtrates to public labour for a more or leſs conſiderable time. A hut ſhould be given to the new citizens, with ground ſufficient to make a ſmall garden, and the treaſury ſhould be at the expence of this eſtabliſhment. No regulation ſhould deprive theſe men, become free, of the power of extending the property which ſhall have been gratuitouſly beſtowed upon them. To put ſuch reſtraints upon their activity and their intelligence, would be to loſe, by abſurd laws, the fruits of ſo laudable an inſtitution.

This arrangement, according to all appearances, would be attended with the happieſt effects. The population of the blacks, which is at preſent checked by the regret of bringing into the world none but beings who are condemned to misfortune and infamy, will make a rapid progreſs. This offspring will be moſt tenderly taken care of by thoſe very mothers, who often took inexpreſſible delight in ſtifling them, or in ſeeing them periſh. Theſe men, accuſtomed to occupation, in expectation of certain liberty, and who will not have an extent of property ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence, will ſell their labours to whomſoever would be inclined or able to pay for them. Their work will indeed coſt more than that of the ſlaves, but it will alſo be more profitable. A greater degree of labour, will give a greater abundance of productions to the colonies, which will be enabled by their riches, to acquire a greater quantity of merchandize from the mother country.

Is it then apprehended, that the facility of acquiring ſubſiſtence without labour, on a ſoil naturally fertile, and of diſpenſing with the want of clothes, would plunge theſe men in idleneſs? Why then do not the inhabitants of Europe confine themſelves to ſuch labours as are of indiſpenſible neceſſity? Why do they exhauſt their powers in laborious employments which tend only to the gratification of a few momentary fancies? There are amongſt us a thouſand profeſſions, ſome more laborious than others, which owe their origin to our inſtitutions. Human laws have given riſe to a variety of factitious wants, which otherwiſe would never have had an exiſtence. By diſpoſing of every ſpecies of property according to their capricious inſtitutions, they have ſubjected an infinite number of people to the imperious will of their fellow-creatures, ſo far as even to make them ſing and dance for ſubſiſtence. We have amongſt us beings, formed like ourſelves, who have conſented to bury themſelves under mountains, in order to furniſh us with metals, and with copper, which may perhaps poiſon us: why do we imagine that the Negroes are leſs dupes and leſs fooliſh than the Europeans?

While we are reſtoring theſe unhappy beings to liberty, we muſt be careful to ſubject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our ſuperfluities. We muſt give them a country, give them intereſts to ſtudy, productions to cultivate, and articles of conſumption agreeable to their reſpective taſtes, and our colonies will never want

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hands, which being eaſed of their chains, will become more active and robuſt.

In order to overturn the whole ſyſtem of ſlavery, which is ſupported by paſſions ſo univerſal, by laws ſo authentic, by the emulation of ſuch powerful nations, by prejudices ſtill more powerful, to what tribunal ſhall we refer the cauſe of humanity, which ſo many men are in confederacy to betray? Sovereigns of the earth, you alone can bring about this revolution. If you do not ſport with the reſt of mortals, if you do not regard the power of kings as the right of a ſucceſsful plunder, and the obedience of ſubjects as artfully obtained from their ignorance, reflect on your own obligations. Refuſe the ſanction of your authority to the infamous and criminal traffic of men turned into ſo many herds of cattle, and this trade will ceaſe. For once unite, for the happineſs of the world, thoſe powers and deſigns which have been ſo often exerted for it's ruin. If ſome one among you would venture to found the expectation of this opulence and grandeur on the generoſity of all the reſt, he inſtantly becomes an enemy of mankind, who ought to be deſtroyed. You may carry fire and ſword into his territories. Your armies will ſoon be inſpired with the ſacred enthuſiaſm of humanity. You will then perceive what difference virtue makes between men who ſuccour the oppreſſed, and mercenaries who ſerve tyrants.

But what am I ſaying? Let the ineffectual calls of humanity be no longer pleaded with the people

ple and their maſters: perhaps, they have never been attended to in any public tranſactions. If then, ye nations of Europe, intereſt alone can exert it's influence over you, liſten to me once more. Your ſlaves ſtand in no need either of your generoſity or your counſels, in order to break the ſacrilegious yoke of their oppreſſion. Nature ſpeaks a more powerful language than philoſophy, or intereſt. Already have two colonies of fugitive Negroes been eſtabliſhed, to whom treaties and power give a perfect ſecurity from your attempts. Theſe are ſo many indications of the impending ſtorm, and the Negroes only want a chief, ſufficiently courageous, to lead them on to vengeance and ſlaughter.

WHERE is this great man, whom nature owes to her afflicted, oppreſſed, and tormented children? Where is he? He will undoubtedly appear, he will ſhew himſelf, he will lift up the ſacred ſtandard of liberty. This venerable ſignal will collect around him the companions of his misfortunes. They will ruſh on with more impetuoſity than torrents; they will leave behind them, in all parts, indelible traces of their juſt reſentment. Spaniards, Portugueze, Engliſh, French, Dutch, all their tyrants will become the victims of fire and ſword. The plains of America will ſuck up with tranſport the blood which they have ſo long expected, and the bones of ſo many wretches, heaped upon one another, during the courſe of ſo many centuries, will bound for joy. The Old World will join it's plaudits to thoſe of the New. In all parts the name of the hero, who

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ſhall have reſtored the rights of the human ſpecies will be bleſt; in all parts trophies will be erected to his glory. Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be a dreadful one, if the conqueror only regards the right of repriſals.

TILL this revolution ſhall take place, the Negroes groan under the oppreſſion of labours, the deſcription of which cannot but intereſt us more and more in their deſtiny.

The culture of the ſoil of the American Archipelago, hath been hitherto neglected.

THE ſoil of the American iſlands hath little reſemblance to our's. It's productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except ſome pot-herbs, nothing is ſow'n there; every thing is planted.

TOBACCO being the firſt production that was cultivated, as it's roots do not ſtrike deep, and the leaſt injury deſtroys them, a ſimple harrow was only employed to prepare the lands which were to receive it, and to extirpate the noxious weeds which would have choaked it. This cuſtom ſtill prevails.

WHEN more troubleſome cultures began to be attended to, and which were leſs delicate, the hoe was made uſe of to work and weed; but it was not employed over the whole extent of ground that was to be cultivated. It was thought ſufficient to dig a hole for the reception of the plant.

THE inequality of the ground, moſt commonly full of hillocks, probably gave riſe to this cuſtom. It might be apprehended, that the rains, which always fall in torrents, ſhould deſtroy, by the cavities they make, the land that had been turned up.

up. Indolence, and the want of means at the time of the firſt ſettlements, extended this practice to the moſt level plains, and cuſtom, which no one ever thought of deviating from, gave a ſanction to it. At length ſome planters, who were adventurous enough to diſcard former prejudices, thought of uſing the plough, and it is probable, that this method will become general wherever it ſhall be found practicable. It has every circumſtance in it's favour that can make it deſirable.

All the lands of the iſlands were virgin lands, when the Europeans undertook to clear them. The firſt that were occupied, have for a long time yielded leſs produce than they did in the beginning. Thoſe which have been ſucceſſively cleared, are likewiſe more or leſs exhauſted, in proportion to the period of their firſt cultivation. Whatever their fertility at firſt might have been, they all loſe it in proceſs of time, and they will ſoon ceaſe to requite the labours of thoſe who cultivate them, if art be not exerted to aſſiſt nature.

It is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturaliſts, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all thoſe meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, ſuch as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual tillage can only procure this advantage to it: the iſlands in particular conſtantly require it. The wet ſeaſon muſt be choſen for turning up the ground, the dryneſs of which would be an impediment to fertility.

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Ploughing cannot be attended with any inconvenience in lands that are level. One might prevent the danger of having ſhelving grounds deſtroyed by ſtorms, by making furrows tranſverſely, on a line that ſhould croſs that of the ſlope of the hillocks. If the declivity were ſo ſteep that the cultivated grounds could be carried away, notwithſtanding the furrows, ſmall drains, ſomething deeper, might be added for the ſame purpoſe at particular diſtances, which would partly break the force and velocity that the ſteepneſs of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

The utility of the plough would not be merely limited to the producing a greater portion of the vegetable juice in plants; it would make their produce the more certain. The iſlands are the regions of inſects: their multiplication there is favoured by a conſtant heat, and one race ſucceeds another without interruption. The extenſive ravages they make are well known. Frequent and ſucceſſive ploughing would check the progreſs of this devouring race, diſturb their re-production, kill great numbers of them, and deſtroy greateſt part of their eggs. Perhaps, this expedient would not be ſufficient againſt the rats which ſhips have brought from Europe into America, where they have increaſed to that degree, that they often deſtroy one-third of the crops. The induſtry of ſlaves might alſo be called in to aſſiſt, and their vigilance might be encouraged by ſome gratification.

The uſe of the plough would probably introduce the cuſtom of manuring; it is already known

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on the greateſt part of the coaſt. The manure there in uſe is called Varech, a kind of ſea-plant, which, when ripe, is detached from the water, and driven on the ſtrand by the motion of the waves: it is very productive of fertility; but if employed without previous preparation, it communicates to the ſugar a diſagreeable bitterneſs, which muſt ariſe from the ſalts that are impregnated with oily particles abounding in ſea-plants. Perhaps, in order to take off this bitter taſte, it would only be neceſſary to burn the plant, and make uſe of the aſhes. The ſalts being by this operation detached from the oily particles, and triturated by vegetation, would circulate more freely in the ſugar-cane, and impart to it purer juices.

The interior parts of this country have not till lately been dunged. Neceſſity will make this practice become more general; and in time the ſoil of America will be aſſiſted by the ſame methods of cultivation as the ſoil of Europe; but with more difficulty. In the iſlands where herds of cattle are not ſo numerous, and where there is ſeldom the convenience of ſtables, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to other kinds of manure, and multiply them as much as poſſible, in order to compenſate the quality by the quantity. The greateſt reſource will always be found in the weeds, from which uſeful plants muſt be conſtantly freed. Theſe muſt be collected together in heaps, and left to putrify. The coloniſts who cultivate coffee, have ſet the example of this practice; but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occaſions in all manual labour. A pile of

weeds

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weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee-trees, without regarding whether theſe weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, heat the tree, and harbour the inſects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

All the domeſtic quadrupeds of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards; and it is from their ſettlements that the colonies of other nations have been ſupplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive beſt in countries abounding with aquatic productions, inſects and reptiles, and are become larger and better taſted, all theſe animals have degenerated, and the few that remain in the iſlands are very ſmall. Though the badneſs of the climate may contribute ſomething to this degeneracy, the want of care is, perhaps, the principal cauſe. They always lie in the open field. They never have either bran or oats given them, and are at graſs the whole year. The coloniſts have not even the attention of dividing the meadows into ſeparate portions, in order to make their cattle to paſs from one into the other. They always feed on the ſame ſpot, without allowing the graſs time to ſpring up again. Such paſtures can only produce weak and watery juices. Too quick a vegetation prevents them from being properly ripened. Hence the animals, deſtined for the food of man, afford only fleſh that is tough and flabby.

Those animals, which are reſerved for labour, do but very little ſervice. The oxen draw but light loads, and that not all day long. They are always

always four in number. They are not yoked by the head, but by the neck, after the Spaniſh cuſtom. They are not ſtimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip; and are directed by two drivers.

When the roads do not allow the uſe of carriages, mules are employed inſtead of oxen. Theſe are ſaddled after a ſimpler method than in Europe, but much inferior to it in ſtrength. A mat is fixed on their back, to which two hooks are ſuſpended on each ſide, the firſt that are caſually met with in the woods. Thus equipped, they carry, at moſt, half the weight that European horſes can bear, and go over but half the ground in the ſame time.

The pace of their horſes is not ſo ſlow: they have preſerved ſomething of the fleetneſs, fire, and docility of thoſe of Andaluſia, from which they derived their pedigree; but their ſtrength is not anſwerable to their ſpirit. It is neceſſary to breed a great number of them, in order to obtain that ſervice which might be had from a ſmaller number in Europe. Three or four of them muſt be harneſſed to very light carriages uſed by indolent people for making excurſions, which they call journeys; but which with us would only be an airing.

The degeneracy of the animals in the iſlands might have been prevented, retarded, or diminiſhed, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder or warmer countries, would in ſome degree have corrected the influence of the climate, feed, and rearing.

rearing. With the mares of the country they would have produced a new race far ſuperior, as they would have come from a climate different from that into which they were imported.

It is very extraordinary, that ſo ſimple an idea ſhould never have occurred to any of the planters; and that there has been no legiſlature attentive enough to it's intereſts, to ſubſtitute in it's ſettlements the biſon to the common ox. Every one who is acquainted with this animal, muſt recollect that the biſon has a ſofter and brighter ſkin, a diſpoſition leſs dull and ſtupid than our bullock, and a quickneſs and docility far ſuperior. It is ſwift in running, and when mounted can ſupply the place of a horſe. It thrives as well in ſouthern countries, as the ox that we employ loves cold or temperate climates. This ſpecies is know'n only in the eaſtern iſlands, and in the greater part of Africa. If cuſtom had leſs influence than it commonly has, even over the wiſeſt governments, they would have been ſenſible, that this uſeful animal was ſingularly well adapted to the great Archipelago of America, and that it would be very eaſy to export it, at a very ſmall expence, from the Gold Coaſt, or the coaſt of Angola.

Two rich planters, one in Barbadoes, the other in St. Domingo, equally ſtricken with the weakneſs of thoſe animals, which, according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, were employed in drawing and carrying, endeavoured to ſubſtitute the camel to them. This experiment, formerly tried without ſucceſs in Peru by the Spaniards, did not ſucceed better

better here, nor was it poſſible it ſhould. It is well know'n, that though a native of hot countries, it dreads exceſſive heat, and can as little thrive as propagate under the burning ſky of the torrid zone, as in the temperate ones. It would have been better to have tried the buffalo.

THE buffalo is a very dirty animal, and of a fierce diſpoſition. It's caprices are ſudden and frequent. It's ſkin is firm, light, and almoſt impenetrable, and it's horn ſerviceable for many purpoſes. It's fleſh is black and hard, and diſagreeable to the taſte and ſmell. The milk of the female is not ſo ſweet, but much more copious than that of the cow. Reared like the ox, to which it hath a ſtriking reſemblance, it greatly ſurpaſſes it in ſtrength and ſwiftneſs. Two buffaloes yoked to a waggon by means of a ring paſſed through their noſe, will draw as much as four of the ſtouteſt bullocks, and in leſs than half the time. They owe this double ſuperiority to the advantage of having longer legs, and a more conſiderable bulk of body, the whole power of which is employed in drawing, becauſe they naturally carry their head and neck low. As this animal is originally a native of the torrid zone, and is larger, ſtronger, and more manageable in proportion to the heat of the country it is in, it cannot ever have been doubted that it would have been of great ſervice in the Caribbee Iſlands, and have propagated happily there. This is highly probable, eſpecially ſince the ſucceſsful experiments that have been made of it at Guiana.

INDOLENCE,

INDOLENCE, and old eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, which have hindered the propagation of domeſtic animals, have no leſs impeded the ſucceſs of tranſplanting vegetables. Several kinds of fruit-trees have been ſucceſſively carried to the iſlands. Thoſe that have not died, are ſome wild ſtocks, the fruit of which is neither beautiful nor good. The greateſt part have degenerated very faſt, becauſe they have been expoſed to a very ſtrong vegetation, ever lively, and conſtantly quickened by the copious dews of the night, and the ſtrong heats of the day, which are the two grand principles of fertility. Perhaps an intelligent obſerver would have know'n how to profit from theſe circumſtances, and have been able to raiſe tolerable fruit; but ſuch men are not found in the colonies. If our kitchen herbs have ſucceeded better; if they are always ſpringing up again, ever green, and ripe; the reaſon is, that they had not to ſtruggle againſt the climate, where they were aſſiſted by a moiſt and clammy earth, which is proper for them; and becauſe they required no trouble. The labour of the ſlaves is employed in the cultivation of more uſeful productions.

The ſlaves are employed firſt to get their ſubſiſtence. Rich productions are afterwards expected from them.

THE principal labours of theſe unhappy men are directed towards thoſe objects that are indiſpenſable to the preſervation of their wretched exiſtence. Before their arrival in the iſlands, potatoes and yams grew without labour, in the midſt of the foreſts. The potatoe is a ſpecies of convolvulus, which grows up gradually; the leaves of which are alternate, angular, and cordiform;

form; and it's flower reſembles in figure, and in the number of it's parts, that of the ordinary convolvulus. The ſtem of the yam is climbing, herbaceous, furniſhed with oppoſite or alternate leaves, cut in the ſhape of a heart, and which ſhoot forth from their axillæ cluſters of male flowers on one ſtem, and female ones upon another, each provided with one calix that hath ſix diviſions. The male flowers have ſix ſtamina. The piſtil of the female flowers is ſurmounted with three ſtyles. It adheres to the calix, and becomes, along with it, a cloſe capſula, with three cells filled with two ſeeds. Theſe plants, which are ſufficiently multiplied by nature alone for the ſubſiſtence of a ſmall number of ſavages, muſt have been cultivated, when it became neceſſary to feed a more conſiderable population. This was accordingly reſolved upon, and other plants were joined to them, draw'n from the country itſelf of the new conſumers.

AFRICA hath furniſhed the iſlands with a ſhrub, which grows to the height of four feet, lives four years, and is uſeful throughout it's whole duration. It's leaves are compoſed of three ſmaller elongated leaves, united on one common petal. It's flowers, which are yellowiſh, and irregular, as thoſe of leguminous plants, are diſpoſed in cluſters at the extremity of the branches. It bears pods, which contain a number of a kind of pea, which is very wholeſome and very nouriſhing. This ſhrub is called the Angola pea. It flouriſhes equally in lands naturally barren, and in

thoſe the ſalts of which have been exhauſted. For this reaſon, the beſt managers among the coloniſts never fail to ſow it on all thoſe parts of their eſtates, which in other hands would remain uncultivated.

The moſt valuable preſent, however, which the iſlands have received from Africa, is the manioc. Moſt hiſtorians have conſidered this plant as a native of America. It does not appear on what foundation this opinion is ſupported, though pretty generally received. But were the truth of it demonſtrated, the Caribbee Iſlands would yet ſtand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the Africans, who fed upon it. Before our invaſions, the intercourſe between the continent of America and theſe iſles was ſo trifling, that a production of the continent might be unknow'n in the Archipelago of the Antilles. It is certain, however, that the ſavages who offered our firſt navigators bananas, yams, and potatoes, offered them no manioc; that the Caribs in Dominica and St. Vincent had it from us; that the character of the ſavages did not render them fit to conduct a culture requiring ſo much attention; that this culture can only be carried on in very open fields; and that in the foreſts, with which theſe iſlands were overgrow'n, there were no clear and unincumbered ſpaces of ground above five-and-twenty toiſes ſquare. In ſhort, it is beyond a doubt, that the uſe of the manioc was not know'n till after the arrival of the Negroes; and that from

time immemorial it hath conſtituted the principal food of a great part of Africa.

However this may be, the manioc is a plant which is propagated by ſlips. It is ſet in furrows that are five or ſix inches deep, which are filled with the ſame earth that has been digged out. Theſe furrows are at the diſtance of two feet, or two feet and a half from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The ſhrub riſes a little above ſix feet, and it's trunk is about the thickneſs of the arm. In proportion as it grows, the lower leaves fall off, leaving a ſemicircular impreſſion on the ſtem, and only a few remain towards the top; it's wood is tender and brittle. They are always alternate, and deeply cut into ſeveral lobes. The extremity of the branches is terminated by cluſters of male and female flowers blended together. The calix of the firſt is in five diviſions, and contains ten ſtamina; that of the ſecond is compoſed of five pieces. The piſtil which they ſurround is ſurmounted with three hairy ſtyles, and becomes a rough capſula, with three diviſions, filled with three ſeeds. There is no part of the plant uſeful, except the root, which is tuberoſe, and at the end of eight months, or more, grows to the ſize of a large radiſh. There are ſeveral varieties of them diſtinguiſhed, which differ in their bulk, their colour, and the time they take in coming to maturity. This is a delicate plant, and the culture of it is laborious; it is incommoded by the vicinity of every kind of herb, and it requires a dry and light ſoil.

When the roots have acquired their proper ſize and maturity, they are plucked up, and undergo various preparations, to render them fit for the food of man. Their firſt ſkin muſt be ſcraped, they muſt be waſhed, grated, and afterwards put into a preſs to extract the juice, which is conſidered as a very active poiſon. Any thing that might remain of the venomous principles they contained, is completely evaporated by roaſting. When they do not yield any more ſmoke, they are taken off the iron plate uſed for this operation, and ſuffered to cool.

The root of the manioc grated and reduced into little grains by roaſting, is called flour of manioc. The paſte of manioc is called caſſava, which hath been converted into a cake by roaſting, without ſtirring it. It would be dangerous to eat as much caſſava as flour of manioc, becauſe the former is leſs roaſted. Both keep a long time, and are very nouriſhing, but a little difficult of digeſtion. Though this food ſeems at firſt inſipid, there are a great number of white people who have been born in theſe iſlands, who prefer it to the beſt wheat. Moſt of the Spaniards in general uſe it conſtantly. The French feed their ſlaves with it. The other European nations, who have ſettlements in the iſlands, are little acquainted with the manioc. It is from North America that theſe colonies receive their ſubſiſtence; ſo that if by any accident, which may very poſſibly take place, their connections with this fertile country were interrupted but for four months, they would be

expoſed to periſh by famine. An avidity that hath no bounds, makes the coloniſts of the iſlands inſenſible of this imminent danger. All, at leaſt the greater part, find their advantage in turning the whole induſtry of their ſlaves towards thoſe productions which are the objects of commerce. The principal of theſe are indigo, cochineal, cocoa, arnotto, cotton, coffee, and ſugar. We have mentioned the three firſt in the hiſtory of the regions under the dominion of Caſtile; and we will now deſcribe the reſt.

Of the culture of arnotto.

The arnotto is a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achiote*, into which they dip the white wool, whatever colour they intend to give to it. The tree that yields this dye is as high, and more buſhy than the plum-tree. It hath a reddiſh bark; it's leaves are large, alternate, cordiform, and ſupplied at their baſe with two ſtipulæ or membranes, which fall off early. The flowers, diſpoſed in cluſters, have a calix of five diviſions, and ten petals of a ſlight purple colour, five of which are internal, and ſmaller. They are found, as well as a great number of ſtamina, under the piſtil, which is crowned with a ſingle ſtyle. The fruit is a capſula of a deep red colour, ſtuck with ſoft points, wide at it's baſe, and narrowed at the top. It opens longitudinally into two great valves, furniſhed internally with a longitudinal receptacle, covered with ſeeds. Theſe ſeeds are done over with a red ſubſtance, which may be extracted from them, and which is, properly ſpeaking, the arnotto. This tree flowers, and bears fruit twice a year.

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As ſoon as one of the eight or ten pods which each cluſter contains opens of itſelf, the reſt may be gathered. All the ſeeds are then to be taken out, and throw'n directly into large troughs full of water. When the fermentation begins, the ſeeds muſt be ſtrongly ſtirred up with wooden ſpatulas, till the arnotto be entirely taken off. The whole is then poured into ſieves made of ruſhes, which retain all the ſolid parts, and let out a thick, reddiſh, and fetid liquor, into iron coppers prepared to receive it. As it boils, the ſcum is ſkimmed off, and kept in large pans. When the liquor yields no more ſcum, it is throw'n away as uſeleſs, and the ſcum poured back into the copper.

THE ſcum, which is to be boiled for ten or twelve hours, muſt be conſtantly ſtirred with a wooden ſpatula, to prevent it's ſticking to the copper, or turning black. When it is boiled enough, and ſomewhat hardened, it is ſpread upon boards to cool. It is then made up into cakes of two or three pounds weight, and the whole proceſs is finiſhed.

Cultivation of cotton.

THE cotton ſhrub, that ſupplies our manufactures, requires a dry and ſtony ſoil, and thrives beſt in grounds that have already been tilled. Not but that the plant appears to thrive better in freſh lands, than in thoſe which are exhauſted; but while it produces more wood, it bears leſs fruit.

AN eaſtern expoſition is fitteſt for it. The culture of it begins in March and April, and continues during the firſt ſpring rains. Holes are made

made at ſeven or eight feet diſtance from each other, and a few ſeeds throw'n in. When they are grow'n to the height of five or ſix inches, all the ſtems are pulled up, except two or three of the ſtrongeſt. Theſe are cropped twice before the end of Auguſt. This precaution is the more neceſſary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the ſecond pruning; and if the ſhrub were ſuffered to grow more than four feet high, the crops would not be greater, nor the fruit ſo eaſily gathered.

This uſeful plant will not thrive, if great attention be not paid to pluck up the weeds which grow about it. Frequent rains will promote it's growth, but they muſt not be inceſſant. Dry weather is particularly neceſſary in the months of March and April, which is the time of gathering the cotton, to prevent it from being diſcoloured and ſpotted.

In order to renew this ſhrub, it is cut every two or three years down to the root, which produces ſeveral ſprigs. Leaves grow upon them, with from three to five lobes, alternately diſpoſed upon the ſtems, and accompanied with two ſtipulæ. At the end of eight or nine months, there appear ſome yellow flowers, ſtreaked with red, rather large, and reſembling the mallow flower in the ſtructure and the number of their parts. The piſtil, placed in the middle, becomes a pod, of the ſize of a pigeon's egg, with three or four cells. Each cell, on burſting, exhibits ſeveral roundiſh ſeeds, ſurrounded with a white kind of wadding, which is the cotton, properly ſo called.

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This burſting of the fruit indicates it's maturity, and the time proper for gathering it.

When it is all gathered in, the ſeeds muſt be picked out from the wool. This is done by means of a cotton-mill, which is an engine compoſed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, eighteen lines in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, ſo as to leave no more diſtance between them than is neceſſary for the ſeed to ſlip through. At one end is a kind of little millſtone, which being put in motion with the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. They ſeparate the cotton, and throw out the ſeed contained in it.

Cultivation of coffee.

The coffee tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature, ſcantily ſupplying the neceſſaries of life, ſcatters it's luxuries with a laviſh hand, was long the favourite plant of that fortunate country. The unſucceſsful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country ſteeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven before they ſold it, in order to ſecure to themſelves a trade from which they derived moſt of their wealth. This opinion ſtill prevailed, 'till the tree itſelf had been conveyed to Batavia, and afterwards to the Iſland of Bourbon, and to Surinam, when it was demonſtrated from experience, that the ſeed of the coffee-tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unleſs it be put freſh into the ground.

This

THIS tree, which flouriſhes only in thoſe climates where the winters are extremely mild, hath ſmooth, entire, oval leaves, and ſharp like thoſe of the laurel; they are, moreover, oppoſite, and ſeparate at their baſe by an intermediate ſcale. The flowers, diſpoſed in rings, have a white corolla, reſembling that of jeſſmine, charged with five ſtamina, and bearing themſelves upon the piſtil, which being incloſed in a calix of five diviſions, becomes along with it a berry, which is at firſt green, and afterwards reddiſh, of the ſize of a ſmall cherry, and filled with two kernels, or beans, of a hard, and as it were horny ſubſtance. Theſe kernels, which are externally convex, and flattened and furrowed on the ſide where they touch each other, yield, when they have been roaſted and reduced to powder, a very agreeable infuſion, fit to keep off ſleep, and the uſe of which, antiently adopted in Aſia, hath been inſenſibly ſpread over the greateſt part of the globe.

THE beſt and higheſt priced coffee is always that which comes from Arabia; but the iſlands of America, and the coaſts of this New World, which cultivate it from the beginning of the century, furniſh a much greater quantity. It is not equally good every where. That which grows in a favourable ſoil, and in an eaſtern expoſure, which enjoys the freſhneſs of the dews and of the rains, and which is ripened by a moderate heat, is ſuperior to any other.

THE coffee plants are to be planted in holes of ten or twelve inches, and at intervals of ſix,

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ſeven, eight, or nine feet, according to the nature of the ſoil. They would naturally grow to the height of eighteen or twenty feet, but they are not allowed to exceed five, in order that their fruit may be conveniently gathered. When thus cropped, they ſpread their branches in ſuch a manner as to intermix with each other.

Sometimes this tree rewards the labours of the cultivator as early as the third year, and at other times only at the fifth or ſixth. Sometimes it doth not produce a pound of coffee, and at other times it yields as much as three or four pounds. In ſome places it does not laſt more than twelve or fifteen years, and in others five-and-twenty or thirty. Theſe variations depend much upon the ſoil on which it is planted.

The coffee of America remained for a long time in a ſtate of imperfection, which brought it into diſgrace. No care was taken of it; but this negligence hath gradually diminiſhed. It is only after having been well waſhed, and deprived of it's gum, and after having received all neceſſary preparations, that it is at preſent carried to the mill.

This mill is compoſed of two wooden rollers, furniſhed with plates of iron eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter. Theſe are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixed, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which the coffee is put, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is ſtripped of it's ſkin, and divided into two parts, as may be ſeen by

by the form of it, after it hath undergone this operation, being flat on one ſide, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a braſs ſieve, where the ſkin drops between the wires, while the fruit ſlides over them into baſkets, placed ready to receive it. It is then throw'n into a veſſel full of water, where it ſoaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly waſhed. When the whole is finiſhed, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon it's trendle by a mule or a horſe. In paſſing over the dried coffee, it takes off the parchment, which is nothing more than a thin ſkin, that detaches itſelf from the berry as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of the mill, to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing mill. This machine is provided with four pieces of tin, fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a ſlave with conſiderable force; and the wind that is made by the motion of theſe plates clears the coffee of all the pellicles that are mixed with it. It is afterwards put upon a table, where the broken berries, and any filth that may happen to remain, are ſeparated by the Negroes. After theſe operations the coffee is fit for ſale.

The price of this berry was at firſt very trifling. The exceſſive paſſion that all Europe took for it raiſed it's value exceedingly: and for that reaſon it's cultivation was carried on with great alacrity, after the peace of 1763. The produce ſoon exceeded the conſumption, and for ſe-

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veral years paſt all the planters have been ruined. They will not recover 'till after a proper equilibrium hath been eſtabliſhed; and it is not in our power to fix the period of this happy revolution.

The cane that yields the ſugar, is a kind of reed, which commonly riſes eight or nine feet, and ſometimes higher, according to the nature of the ſoil. It's moſt common diameter is of one inch. It is covered with a rind, which is not very hard, and contains a kind of pulp, more or leſs compact, full of a ſweet and viſcid juice. It is interſected at intervals with joints, from which originate leaves, that are long, narrow, ſharp at their edges, and ſulcated at their baſis. The lower ones fall off as the ſtem grows. This is terminated by a ſilky pannicle, of a conſiderable ſize, every flower of which hath three ſtamina and one ſingle ſeed, covered with a two-leaved calix, with a ſhaggy ſurface.

This plant hath been cultivated from the earlieſt antiquity in ſome countries of Aſia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became know'n in Sicily, from whence it paſſed into the ſouthern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards tranſplanted into Madeira and the Canaries. From theſe iſlands it was brought into the New World, where it ſucceeded as well as if it had been indigenous there.

All ſoils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and ſtrong, low and marſhy, enviroined with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice

juice that is aqueous, inſipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified, and preſerved. Canes planted in a ground where they ſoon meet with ſoft ſtone or rock, have but a very ſhort duration, and yield but little ſugar. A light, porous, and deep ſoil, is by nature moſt favourable to this production.

The general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field; to make at the diſtance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and ſix deep; to lay in theſe two, and ſometimes three ſlips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the ſlips iſſues a ſtem, which in time becomes a ſugar-cane.

Care ſhould be taken to clear it conſtantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for ſix months. The canes then are ſufficiently thick and near one another to deſtroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly ſuffered to grow eighteen months, and are ſeldom cut at any other time.

From the ſtock of theſe iſſue ſuckers, which are in their turn cut fifteen months after. This ſecond cutting yields only half of the produce of the firſt. The planters ſometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always ſucceſſively leſs, however good the ſoil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for planting afreſh, can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane.

THESE crops are not made in all the colonies at the ſame time. In the Daniſh, Spaniſh, and Dutch ſettlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method doth not imply any fixed ſeaſon for the maturity of the ſugar-cane. The plant, however, like others, muſt have it's progreſs; and it hath been juſtly obſerved to be in flower in the months of November and December. It muſt neceſſarily follow, from the cuſtom theſe nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops for ten months without intermiſſion, that they cut ſome canes which are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit hath not the requiſite qualities. The time of gathering them ſhould be at a fixed ſeaſon, and probably the months of March and April are the fitteſt for it; becauſe all the ſweet fruits are ripe at that time, while the ſour ones do not arrive to a ſtate of maturity till the months of July and Auguſt.

THE Engliſh cut their canes in March and April; but they are not induced to do this on account of their ripeneſs. The drought that prevails in their iſlands renders the rains which fall in September neceſſary to their planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the preciſe point of maturity.

IN order to extract the juice of the canes, when cut, which ought to be done in four and twenty hours, otherwiſe it would turn ſour, they are paſſed between two cylinders of iron, or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion

motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horſes; but in water-mills this horizontal wheel derives it's movement from a perpendicular one, the circumference of which meeting a current of water, receives an impreſſion which turns it upon it's axis: this motion is from right to left, if the current of water ſtrike the upper part of the wheel; from left to right, if it ſtrike the lower part.

From the reſervoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler where thoſe particles of water are made to evaporate that are moſt eaſily ſeparated. This liquor is poured into another boiler, where a moderate fire makes it throw up it's firſt ſcum. When it has loſt it's clammy conſiſtence it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more ſcum by means of an increaſed degree of heat. It then receives the laſt boiling in a fourth cauldron, the fire of which is three times ſtronger than the firſt.

This laſt fire determines the ſucceſs of the proceſs. If it hath been well managed, the ſugar forms cryſtals that are larger or ſmaller, more or leſs bright, in proportion to the greater or leſs quantity of oil they abound with. If the fire hath been too violent, the ſubſtance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract, which cannot produce any more eſſential ſalt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a conſiderable quantity of extraneous oils, which ſtain the ſugar, and render it thick and blackiſh; ſo that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, becauſe the

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the ſpaces which theſe oils filled up, remain empty.

As ſoon as the ſugar is cool, it is poured into earthen veſſels of a conic figure; the baſe of the cone is open, and it's top hath a hole, through which the water is carried off that hath not formed any cryſtals. This is called the ſyrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw ſugar remains, which is rich, brown, and ſalt.

The greateſt part of the iſlands leave to the Europeans the care of giving ſugar the other preparations which are neceſſary to make it fit for uſe. This practice ſpares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more Negroes to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ſhips for exportation.

The French planters alone have thought it their intereſt to manage their ſugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactneſs the juice of the ſugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the ſalts of the ſugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. Theſe give it a dead colour, and the taſte of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This conſiſts in putting again the raw ſugars into a new earthen veſſel, in every reſpect ſimilar to that we have mentioned. The ſurface of the ſugar, throughout the whole extent of the baſis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl,

marl, on which water is poured. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different ſaline particles, when this earth meets with oily ſubſtances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a ſecond ſyrup is procured, which they call melaſſes, and which is ſo much the worſe, in proportion as the ſugar was finer; that is, contained leſs extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, diſſolved by the water, paſſes alone, and carries with it all it's acrid particles.

This earthing is followed by the laſt preparation, which is effected by fire, and ſerves for the evaporating of the moiſture with which the ſalts are impregnated during the proceſs of earthing. In order to do this, the ſugar is taken in it's whole form out of the conical veſſel of earth, and conveyed into a ſtove which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till the ſugar is become very dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks.

Though the expence which this proceſs requires, be in general uſeleſs, ſince the earthed ſugar is commonly refined in Europe in the ſame manner as the raw ſugar; all the inhabitants of the French iſlands, however, who are are able to purify their ſugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whoſe navy is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables it in times of war, to convey into it's own mother-country the moſt valuable cargoes with a leſs

number

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number of ſhips than if only raw ſugars were ſent.

One may judge from the ſpecies of ſugars, but much better from that which has undergone the earthing, of what ſort of ſalts it is compoſed. If the ſoil, where the cane hath been planted, be hard, ſtony, and ſloping, the ſalts will be white, angular, and the grain very large. If the ſoil be marly, the colour will be the ſame; but the granulations, being cut on fewer ſides, will reflect leſs light. If the ſoil be rich and ſpungy, the granulations will be nearly ſpherical, the colour will be duſky, the ſugar will ſlip under the finger, without any unequal feel. This laſt kind of ſugar is conſidered as the worſt.

Whatever may be the reaſon, thoſe places that have a northern aſpect produce the beſt ſugar; and marly grounds yield the greateſt quantity. The preparations which the ſugar that grows in theſe kinds of ſoil require, are leſs tedious and troubleſome than thoſe which the ſugar requires that is produced in a rich land. But theſe obſervations admit of infinite variety, the inveſtigation of which is properly the province of chymiſts, or ſpeculative planters.

Beside ſugar, the cane furniſhes ſyrup, the value of which is only a twelfth of that of the price of ſugars. The beſt ſyrup is that which runs from the firſt veſſel into the ſecond, when the raw ſugar is made. It is compoſed of the groſſer particles, which carry along with them the ſalts of ſugar, whether it contain or ſeparate them in it's paſſage. The ſyrup of an inferior kind, which is more

more bitter, and leſs in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the ſugar when it is waſhed. By means of fire, ſome ſugar is beſides extracted from the firſt ſyrup, which, after this operation, is of leſs value than the ſecond.

Both theſe kinds are carried into the north of Europe, where the people uſe them inſtead of butter and ſugar. In North America they make the ſame uſe of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation and an agreeable taſte to a liquor called *Pruſs*, which is only an infuſion of the bark of a tree.

This ſyrup is ſtill more uſeful, by the ſecret that hath been diſcovered of converting it by diſtillation, into a ſpirituous liquor, which the Engliſh call *Rum*, and the French *Taffia*. This proceſs, which is very ſimple, is made by mixing a third part of ſyrup with two-thirds of water. When theſe two ſubſtances have ſufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean ſtill, where the diſtillation is made as uſual. The liquor that is draw'n off is equal to the quantity of the ſyrup employed.

Such is the method which, after many experiments and variations, all the iſlands have generally adopted in the cultivation of ſugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but, perhaps, it hath not acquired that degree of perfection of which it is capable. If inſtead of planting canes in large fields, the ground were parcelled out into diviſions of ſixty feet, leaving between two planted

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diviſions a ſpace of land uncultivated, ſuch a method would probably be attended with great advantages. In the modern practice, none but the canes which grow on the borders are good, and attain to a proper degree of maturity. Thoſe in the middle of the field in part miſcarry, and ripen badly, becauſe they are deprived of a current of air, which only acts by it's weight, and ſeldom gets to the foot of theſe canes, that are always covered with the leaves.

In this new ſyſtem of plantation, thoſe portions of land which had not been cultivated would be moſt favourable for reproduction; when the crops of the planted diviſions had been made, which in their turn would be left to recover. It is probable that by this method as much ſugar might be obtained as by the preſent practice; with this additional advantage, that it would require fewer ſlaves to cultivate it. One may judge what the cultivation of ſugar would then produce, by what it now yields, notwithſtanding it's imperfections.

On a plantation fixed on a good ground, and ſufficiently ſtocked with Negroes, with cattle, and all other neceſſaries, two men will cultivate a ſquare of canes, that is a hundred geometrical paces in every direction. This ſquare muſt yield on an average ſixty quintals of raw ſugar. The common price of a quintal in Europe will be twenty livres*, after deducting all the expences. This makes an income of 600 livres †, for the labour of each man. One hundred and fifty livres ‡, to which

* 16s. 8d. † 25l. ‡ 6l. 5s.

the

the price of ſyrup and rum muſt be added, will defray the expences of cultivation; that is to ſay, for the maintenance of ſlaves, for their loſs, for their diſorders, for their clothes, for repairing their utenſils, and other accidents. The net produce of an acre and a half of land will then be four hundred and fifty livres *. It would be difficult to find a culture productive of greater emoluments.

It may be objected, that this is ſtating the produce below it's real value, becauſe a ſquare of canes doth not employ two men. But thoſe who would urge ſuch an objection ought to obſerve, that the making of ſugar requires other labours beſide thoſe of merely cultivating it, and conſequently workmen employed elſewhere than in the fields. The eſtimate and compenſation of theſe different kinds of ſervice, oblige us to deduct from the produce of a ſquare of plantation, the expence of maintaining two men.

It is chiefly from the produce of ſugar that the iſlands ſupply their planters with all the articles of convenience and luxury. They draw from Europe, flour, liquors, ſalt proviſions, ſilks, linens, hardware; and every thing that is neceſſary for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, convenience, and even luxury. Their conſumptions of every kind are prodigious, and muſt neceſſarily influence the manners of the inhabitants, the greateſt part of whom are rich enough to ſupport them.

Character of the Europeans ſettled in the American iſlands.

It ſhould ſeem that the Europeans, who have been tranſplanted into the American iſlands, muſt

* 18 l. 15 s.

no leſs have degenerated than the animals which they carried over thither. The climate acts on all living beings; but men being leſs immediately ſubject to the laws of nature, reſiſt her influence the more, becauſe they are the only beings, who act for themſelves. The firſt coloniſts, who ſettled in the Antilles, corrected the activity of a new climate, and a new ſoil, by the conveniencies which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learnt to lodge and maintain themſelves in a manner the beſt adapted to their change of ſituation. They retained the cuſtoms of their education, and every thing that could agree with the natural effects of the air they breathed. With theſe they carried into America the food and cuſtoms of Europe, and familiariſed to each other beings and productions which nature had ſeparated by an interval of the ſame extent as a Zone. But of all the primitive cuſtoms, the moſt ſalutary, perhaps, was that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

All nations, even the leaſt civilized, have proſcribed an union of ſexes between the children of the ſame family; whether it was, that experience or prejudice dictated this law, or chance led them to it. Beings brought up together in infancy, accuſtomed to ſee one another continually, in this mutual familiarity, rather contract that indifference which ariſes from habit, than that lively and impetuous ſenſation of ſympathy, which ſuddenly affects two beings who never ſaw one another. If in the ſavage life, hunger diſunites families, love

love undoubtedly muſt have reunited them. The hiſtory, whether true or fabulous, of the rape of the Sabine women, ſhews that marriage was the firſt alliance between nations. Thus the blood will have become gradually intermixed, either by the caſual meetings occaſioned by a wandering life, or by the conventions and agreements of ſettled communities. The natural advantage of croſſing the breed among men, as well as animals, in order to preſerve the ſpecies from degenerating, is the reſult of ſlow experience, and is poſterior to the acknowleged utility of uniting families, in order to cement the peace of ſociety. Tyrants ſoon diſcovered how far it was proper for them to ſeparate, or connect their ſubjects, in order to keep them in a ſtate of dependence. They formed men into ſeparate ranks by availing themſelves of their prejudices: becauſe this line of diviſion between them became a bond of ſubmiſſion to the ſovereign, who maintained his authority by their mutual hatred and oppoſition. They connected families to each other in every ſtation, becauſe this union totally extinguiſhed every ſpark of diſſention repugnant to the ſpirit of civil ſociety. Thus the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, hath been rather the reſult of political inſtitutions, than formed upon the views of nature.

But whatever be the natural principle and moral tendency of this cuſtom, it was adopted by Europeans, who were deſirous of multiplying in the iſlands. The greateſt part of them either

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married in their own country, before they removed into the New World, or with thoſe who landed there. The European married a Creole, or the Creole an European, whom chance or family connections brought into America. From this happy aſſociation hath been formed a peculiar character, which in the two worlds diſtinguiſhes the man born under the ſky of the New, from parents originally natives of both. The marks of this character will be pointed out with ſo much the more certainty, as they are taken from the writings of an accurate obſerver, from whom we have already draw'n ſome particulars reſpecting natural hiſtory.

The Creoles are in general well made. There is ſcarce a ſingle perſon among them afflicted with thoſe deformities which are ſo common in other climates. They have all an extreme ſuppleneſs in their limbs; whether it is to be attributed to a particular organization adapted to hot countries, to the cuſtom of their being reared without the confinement of ſwaddling clothes and ſtays, or to the exerciſes they are habituated to from their infancy. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freſhneſs, which contributes more to beauty than regular features do. As to their colour, when they are in health, it reſembles that of perſons juſt recovering from a fit of illneſs; but this livid complexion, more or leſs dark, is nearly that of our ſouthern people.

Their intrepidity in war hath been ſignalized by a ſeries of bold actions. There would be no better

better ſoldiers, if they were more capable of being diſciplined.

HISTORY does not afford any of thoſe inſtances of cowardice, treachery, and meanneſs among them, which ſully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alleged, that a Creole ever did a mean action.

ALL ſtrangers, without exception, find in the iſlands the moſt friendly and generous hoſpitality. This uſeful virtue is practiſed with a degree of oſtentation, which ſhews, at leaſt, the honour they attach to it. Their natural propenſity to beneficence baniſhes avarice; and the Creoles are generous in their dealings.

THEY are ſtrangers to diſſimulation, craft and ſuſpicion. The pride they take in their frankneſs, the opinion they have of themſelves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial tranſactions all that myſtery and reſerve, which ſtifles natural goodneſs of diſpoſition, extinguiſhes the ſocial ſpirit, and diminiſhes our ſenſibility.

A WARM imagination, incapable of any reſtraint, renders them independent and inconſtant in their taſte. It perpetually hurries them with freſh ardour into pleaſures, to which they ſacrifice both their fortune and their whole exiſtence.

A REMARKABLE degree of penetration, a quick facility in ſeizing all ideas, and expreſſing themſelves with vivacity; the power of combining added to the talent of obſervation, a happy mixture of all the qualities of the mind and of the heart, which render men capable of the greateſt

actions, will make them attempt every thing, when oppreſſion compels them to it.

The ſharp and ſaline air of the Caribbee iſlands, deprives the women of that lively colour which is the beauty of their ſex. But they have an agreeable and fair complexion, which does not deprive the eyes of all that vivacity and power, that enables them to convey into the ſoul ſuch ſtrong impreſſions as are irreſiſtible. As they are extremely ſober, they drink nothing but chocolate, coffee, and ſuch ſpirituous liquors as reſtore to the organs their tone and vigour enervated by the climate; while the men are continually drinking in proportion to the heat that exhauſts them.

They are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This fertility ariſes from love, which ſtrongly attaches them to their huſbands; but which alſo throws them inſtantly into the arms of another, whenever death hath diſſolved the union of a firſt or ſecond marriage.

Jealous even to diſtraction, they are ſeldom unfaithful. That indolence which makes them neglect the means of pleaſing, the taſte which the men have for negro women, their particular manner of life, whether private or public, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry; theſe are the beſt ſupports of the virtue of theſe females.

The ſolitary kind of manner in which they live in their houſes, gives them an air of extreme timidity, which embarraſſes them in their intercourſe with the world. They loſe, even in early life, the ſpirit of emulation and choice; and this prevents

vents them from cultivating the agreeable talents of education. They ſeem to have neither power nor taſte for any thing but dancing, which undoubtedly tranſports and animates them to higher pleaſures. This inſtinct of pleaſure attends them through their whole life; whether it be, that they ſtill retain ſome ſhare of their youthful ſenſibility, or are ſtimulated with the recollection of it; or from other reaſons which are unknow'n to us.

From ſuch a conſtitution ariſes an extremely ſenſible and ſympathiſing character, ſo that they cannot even bear the ſight of miſery; though they are, at the ſame time, rigid and ſevere with reſpect to the offices they require of thoſe domeſtics that are attached to their ſervice. More deſpotic and inexorable towards their ſlaves than the men themſelves, they feel no remorſe in ordering chaſtiſements, the ſeverity of which would be a puniſhment and a leſſon to them, if they were obliged to inflict them themſelves, or were witneſſes to them.

This ſlavery of the Negroes is, perhaps, the cauſe from whence the Creoles in part derive a certain character, which makes them appear ſtrange, fantaſtic, and of an intercourſe not much reliſhed in Europe. From their earlieſt infancy they are accuſtomed to ſee a number of tall and ſtout men about them, whoſe buſineſs it is to conjecture and anticipate their wiſhes. This firſt view muſt immediately inſpire them with the moſt extravagant opinion of themſelves. Seldom meeting with any oppoſition to their caprice, though ever ſo unreaſonable, they aſſume a ſpirit of preſumption, tyranny, and diſdain for a great part of

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of mankind. Nothing is more inſolent than the man who always lives with his inferiors; but when theſe happen to be ſlaves, habituated to wait upon children, to dread even their cries, which muſt expoſe them to puniſhment, what muſt maſters become who have never obeyed; wicked men, who have never been puniſhed; and madmen, who are uſed to put their fellow-creatures in irons?

So cruel an example of dependence gives the Americans that pride which muſt neceſſarily be deteſted in Europe, where a greater equality prevailing among men, teaches them a greater ſhare of mutual reſpect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, they are neither able to ſurmount difficulties, or bear contradiction. Nature hath given them every advantage, and fortune refuſed them nothing. In this reſpect, like moſt kings, they are unhappy, becauſe they have never experienced adverſity. If the climate did not ſtrongly excite them to love, they would be ignorant of every real pleaſure of the ſoul: and yet they ſeldom have the happineſs of forming an idea of thoſe paſſions, which, thwarted by obſtacles and refuſals, are nouriſhed with tears, and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by their wants, and repreſs or reſtrain the extraordinary degree of independence they enjoy, they would fall into a ſoftneſs and effeminacy, which would in time render them the victims of their own tyranny, or would involve them in a ſtate of anarchy,

anarchy, that would ſubvert all the foundations of their community.

But if they once ceaſed to have Negroes for ſlaves, and kings who live at a diſtance from them for maſters, they, perhaps, would become the moſt aſtoniſhing people that ever appeared on earth. The ſpirit of liberty which they would imbibe from their earlieſt infancy; the underſtanding and abilities which they would inherit from Europe; the activity, which the neceſſity of repelling numerous enemies would inſpire; the large colonies they would have to form; the rich commerce they would have to found on an immenſe cultivation; the ranks and ſocieties they would have to create; and the maxims, laws, and manners they would have to eſtabliſh on the principles of reaſon: all theſe ſprings of action would, perhaps, make, of an equivocal and miſcellaneous race of people, the moſt flouriſhing nation that philoſophy and humanity could wiſh for the happineſs of the world.

If ever any fortunate revolution ſhould take place in the world, it will begin in America. After having experienced ſuch devaſtation, this New World muſt flouriſh in it's turn, and, perhaps, command the Old. It will become the aſylum of our people who have been oppreſſed by political eſtabliſhments, or driven away by war. The ſavage inhabitants will be civilized, and oppreſſed ſtrangers will become free. But it is neceſſary that this change ſhould be preceded by conſpiracies, commotions, and calamities; and that

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that a hard and laborious education ſhould predifpoſe their minds both to act and to ſuffer.

YOUNG Creoles, come into Europe to exerciſe and practiſe what we teach you; there to collect, in the valuable remains of our ancient manners, that vigour which we have loſt; there to ſtudy our weakneſs, and draw from our follies themſelves thoſe leſſons of wiſdom which produce great events. Leave in America your Negroes, whoſe condition diſtreſſes us, and whoſe blood, perhaps, is mingled in all thoſe ferments which alter, corrupt, and deſtroy our population. Fly from an education of tyranny, effeminacy, and vice, which you contract from the habit of living with ſlaves, whoſe degraded ſtation inſpires you with none of thoſe elevated and virtuous ſentiments, which can only give riſe to a people that will become celebrated. America hath poured all the ſources of corruption on Europe. To complete it's vengeance, it muſt draw from it all the inſtruments of it's proſperity. As it hath been deſtroyed by our crimes, it muſt be renewed by our vices.

NATURE ſeems to have deſtined the Americans to a greater ſhare of happineſs than the inhabitants of Europe. They have ſcarce any illneſs, except inflammations in the lungs, and pleuriſies, which are almoſt as common in the iſlands as in all other regions, where the tranſitions from heat to cold are frequent and ſudden. The gout, gravel, ſtone, apoplexies, and a multitude of other ſcourges of the human race, which are ſo fatal

fatal in other countries, have never made the leaſt ravages there. If the air of the country can be withſtood, and the middle age be attained to, this is ſufficient to inſure a long and happy life. There old age is not weak, languiſhing, and beſet with thoſe infirmities which affect it in our climate.

Diſeaſes to which the Europeans are ſubject in the iſlands of America.

In the Caribbee Iſlands, however, new-born infants are attacked with a diſeaſe which ſeems peculiar to the torrid zone: it is called *tetanos*. If a child receive the impreſſion of the air or wind, if the room where it is juſt born be expoſed to ſmoke, to too much heat or cold, the diſorder ſhews itſelf immediately. It firſt ſeizes the jaw, which becomes rigid and fixed, ſo as not to be opened. This ſpaſm ſoon communicates itſelf to the other parts of the body; and the child dies for want of being able to take nouriſhment. If it eſcape this danger, which threatens the nine firſt days of it's exiſtence, it has nothing to fear. The indulgences which are allowed to children before they are weaned, which is at the end of the twelve months, ſuch as the uſe of coffee, chocolate, wine, but eſpecially ſugar and ſweetmeats; theſe indulgences that are ſo pernicious to our children, are offered to thoſe of America by nature, which accuſtoms them in early age to the productions of their climate.

The fair ſex, naturally weak and delicate, has it's infirmities as well as it's charms. In the iſlands they are ſubject to a weakneſs, an almoſt total decay of their ſtrength; an unconquerable averſion

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for all kind of wholeſome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudicial to their health. Salt or ſpiced food is what they only reliſh and deſire. This diſeaſe is a true cachexy, which commonly degenerates into a dropſy. It is attributed to the diminution of the menſes in thoſe women who come from Europe, and to the weakneſs or total ſuppreſſion of that periodical diſcharge in Creoles. It might ſtill more properly be attributed to the exceſſive heat, and the immoderate dampneſs of the climate, which at length deſtroys every ſpring in the animal œconomy.

The men, more robuſt, are liable to more violent complaints. In this vicinity of the equator, they are expoſed to a hot and malignant fever, know'n under different names, and indicated by hæmorrhages. The blood, which is boiling under the fervent rays of the ſun, is diſcharged from the noſe, eyes, and other parts of the body. Nature, in temperate climates, does not move with ſuch rapidity, but that in the moſt acute diſorders there is time to obſerve and follow the courſe ſhe takes. In the iſlands, her progreſs is ſo rapid, that if we delay to attack the diſorder as ſoon as it appears, it's effects are certainly fatal. No ſooner is a perſon ſeized with ſickneſs, but the phyſician, the lawyer, and the prieſt, are all called to his bedſide.

The ſymptoms of this terrible illneſs ſeem to indicate the neceſſity of bleeding. This operation hath therefore been repeated without meaſure. Several experiments have at length demonſtrated

ſtrated that this expedient was fatal. Remedies are now preferred which are capable of moderating this great rarefaction of the blood, and which tend to the diſſolution of it, ſuch as bathing, glyſters, oxycrate, and even bliſters, when the diſorder is attended with delirium. We have know'n a profeſſional man of great underſtanding, who thought that the immediate cauſe of this malady was the intenſe heat of the ſun; and who affirmed, that thoſe who did not expoſe themſelves to it, moſt commonly eſcaped this calamity.

Most of thoſe who ſurvive theſe attacks recover very ſlowly, and with difficulty. Several fall into an habitual languor, occaſioned by the debility of the whole machine, which the noxious air of the country, and the little nouriſhment their food ſupplies, are not able to reſtore. Hence obſtructions, jaundice, and ſwellings of the ſpleen are produced, which ſometimes terminate in dropſies.

Almost all the Europeans who go over to America are expoſed to this danger, and frequently the Creoles themſelves, on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women whoſe blood has the natural evacuations, and Negroes, who, born under a hotter climate, are inured by nature, and prepared by free perſpiration, for all the ferments that the ſun can produce.

These violent fevers are certainly owen to the heat of the ſun, the rays of which are leſs oblique, and

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and more conſtant, than in our climates. This heat muſt undoubtedly thicken the blood, through the exceſs of perſpiration, a want of elaſticity in the ſolids, and a dilatation of the veſſels by the impulſe of the fluids, whether in proportion to the rarefaction of the air, or the leſs degree of compreſſion which the ſurface of the bodies is expoſed to in a rarefied atmoſphere.

FAR from having recourſe to theſe expedients, which are know'n to be preventatives of the diſorder, the inhabitants fall into ſuch exceſſes as are moſt likely to haſten and increaſe it. The ſtrangers who arrive at the Caribbee Iſlands, are excited by the entertainments they are invited to, the pleaſures they partake of, and the kind reception they meet with; every thing induces them to an immoderate indulgence in all the pleaſures which cuſtom renders leſs prejudicial to thoſe who are born under this climate. Feaſting, dancing, gaming, late hours, wine, cordials, and frequently the chagrin of diſappointment in their chimerical expectations, conſpire to add to the ferment of an immoderate heat of the blood, which ſoon becomes inflamed.

WITH ſuch indulgence, it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt the heats of this climate, when even the greateſt precautions are not ſufficient to ſecure perſons from the attack of thoſe dangerous fevers; when the moſt ſober and moderate men, who are the moſt averſe from every kind of exceſs, and the moſt careful of all their actions, are victims to the new air they breathe. In the preſent

ſtate

ſtate of the colonies, of ten men that go into the iſlands, four Engliſh die, three French, three Dutch, three Danes, and one Spaniard.

When it was obſerved how many men were loſt in theſe regions, at the time they were firſt occupied, it was generally thought, that the ſtates who had the ambition of ſettling there would be depopulated in the end.

Advantages of thoſe nations that are in poſſeſſion of the American iſlands.

Experience hath altered the public opinion upon this point. In proportion as theſe colonies have extended their plantations, they have had freſh means of expence. Theſe have opened to their mother-country new ſources of conſumption. The increaſe in exportations could not take place without an increaſe of labour. Theſe labours have brought together a greater number of men, which will ever be the caſe when the means of ſubſiſtence are multiplied. Even foreigners have reſorted in great multitudes to thoſe kingdoms, which opened a vaſt field to their ambition and induſtry.

Population hath not only increaſed among the proprietors of the iſlands, but the people have alſo become more happy. Our felicity in general is proportioned to our conveniences, and it muſt increaſe as we can vary and extend them. The iſlands have been productive of this advantage to their poſſeſſors. They have draw'n from theſe fertile regions a number of commodities, the conſumption of which hath added to their enjoyments. They have acquired ſome, which, when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries

of other climates. In this manner, the kingdoms which have acquired the poſſeſſion of the iſlands, by fortunate circumſtances, or by well-combined projects, are become the reſidence of the arts, and of all the polite amuſements which are a natural and neceſſary conſequence of great plenty.

But this is not the only advantage: theſe colonies have raiſed the nations that founded them, to a ſuperiority of influence in the political world, by the following means: Gold and ſilver, which form the general circulation of Europe, come from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. They belong neither to the Spaniards nor the Portugueſe, but to people, who give their merchandiſe in exchange for theſe metals. Theſe people have commercial tranſactions with each other, that are ultimately ſettled at Liſbon and Cadiz, which may be looked upon as a common and univerſal repoſitory. It is in theſe places that one muſt judge of the increaſe or decline of the trade of each nation. That nation, whoſe accounts of ſale and purchaſe are kept in balance with the reſt, receives the whole intereſt of it's capital. That which hath purchaſed more than it hath ſold, withdraws leſs than it's intereſt; becauſe it hath ceded a part of it, in order to ſatisfy the demands of the nation to which it was indebted: That which hath ſold more to other nations than it hath purchaſed of them, does not only get what was owing from Spain and Portugal, but alſo the profit it hath derived from other nations with which it hath made exchanges. This laſt advantage is peculiar to the people who poſ-

ſeſs the iſlands. Their ſpecie is annually increaſed by the ſale of the valuable productions of theſe countries; and the augmentation of their ſpecie confirms their ſuperiority, and renders them the arbiters of peace and war. But we ſhall explain, in the following Books, how far each nation hath increaſed it's power by the poſſeſſion of the iſlands.

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Settlements of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Danes, in the American Iſlands.

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Definition of true glory.

I WAS going to ſay, that Spain had the glory of having diſcovered the great Archipelago of America, and of having formed the firſt ſettlements there, when I was checked by the conſideration, that the diſcovery of it could not poſſibly have been glorious to the Spaniards, unleſs it had been advantageous to the Antilles.

GLORY is a ſentiment which raiſes us in our own eyes, and which increaſes our conſideration among enlightened men. The idea of it is inſeparably connected with thoſe of a great difficulty overcome, of great utility ſubſequent to ſucceſs, and of equal increaſe of felicity for the univerſe or for one's country. Whatever mark of genius I may acknowlege in the invention of any deſtructive weapon, I ſhould excite a juſt indignation, were I to ſay, that ſuch a man, or ſuch a nation, had the glory of having invented it. Glory, at leaſt, according to the ideas I have formed of it, is not the reward of the greateſt ſucceſs in the ſciences. If you invent a new calculation, compoſe a ſublime poem, or if you have excelled Cicero or Demoſthenes in eloquence, Thucydides or Tacitus in hiſtory, celebrity

lebrity may be granted to you, but not glory. Neither is it any more to be obtained by the ſuperiority of talents in the arts. Let us ſuppoſe, that from the block of marble you have cut out either the Gladiator, or the Apollo Belvedere; that your pencil hath painted the transfiguration; or that your ſimple, expreſſive, and melodious airs have equalled you with Pergoleſi; you will then enjoy a high reputation, but no glory. I will go further: If you ſhould equal Vauban in the art of fortification, Turenne and Condé in that of commanding armies; if you ſhould gain battles, and conquer provinces, all theſe actions are undoubtedly great, and your name will be tranſmitted to the remoteſt poſterity, but glory is reſerved for other qualities. We do not acquire glory by adding to that of our nation. A man may be the honour of his corps, without being the glory of his country. A private man may aſpire to reputation, to fame, and to immortality; but there are none but rare circumſtances, and a fortunate hazard, that can conduct him to glory.

Glory belongs to God in heaven. Upon earth, it is the lot of Virtue, and not of genius; of uſeful, great, beneficent, ſplendid and heroic Virtue. It is the lot of the monarch, who, throughout the courſe of a tumultuous reign, hath attended to the happineſs of his ſubjects, and hath attended to it with ſucceſs. It is the lot of a ſubject, who ſhall have ſacrificed his life for the preſervation of his fellow-citizens. It is the lot of a people, who ſhall have choſen rather to die

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free, than to live enſlaved. It is the lot, not of a Cæſar or of a Pompey, but of a Regulus or of a Cato. It is the lot of a Henry IV.

It is owen to the ſpirit of humanity which philoſophy hath infuſed into the minds of all enlightened people, that conquerors, as well antient as modern, are now put upon a level with the moſt abhorred claſs of mankind. And I doubt not but that poſterity, which will judge with impartiality of the diſcoveries we have made in the New World, will rank our navigators ſtill below them. For, have they been guided by their regard for the human race, or by cupidity? And though an enterprize be in itſelf a good one, can it be laudable, if the motive of it be vicious?

Idea that muſt be formed of the Iſland of Trinidad.

The iſland which the Spaniards firſt met with on their arrival in America, is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he diſcovered the Oronooko; but other objects interfering, both the iſland, and the coaſts of the neighbouring continent, were at that time neglected.

It was not till 1535, that the court of Madrid took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Trinidad, which is ſituated facing the mouth of the Oronooko, as it were to moderate the rapidity of this river. It is ſaid to comprehend three hundred and eighteen ſquare leagues. It hath never experienced any hurricane, and it's climate is wholeſome. The rains are very abundant there from the middle of May to the end of October; and the dryneſs that prevails throughout the reſt of the year is not attended with any inconvenience, becauſe the country,

country, though deſtitute of navigable rivers, is very well watered. The earthquakes are more frequent than dangerous. In the interior part of the iſland there are four groups of mountains, which, together with ſome others formed by nature upon the ſhores of the ocean, occupy a third part of the territory. The reſt is in general ſuſceptible of the richeſt cultures.

The form of the iſland is ſquare. To the North is a coaſt of twenty-two leagues in extent, too much elevated, and too much divided, ever to be of any uſe. The Eaſtern coaſt is only nineteen leagues in extent, but in all parts as convenient as one could wiſh it to be. The Southern coaſt hath five-and-twenty leagues, is a little exalted, and adapted for the ſucceſsful cultivation of coffee and cacao. The land on the Weſtern ſide is ſeparated from the reſt of the colony, to the South by the Soldiers Canal, and to the North by the Dragon's Mouth, and forms, by means of a receſs, a harbour of twenty leagues in breadth, and thirty in depth. It offers, in all ſeaſons, a ſecure aſylum to the navigators, who, during the greateſt part of the year, would find it difficult to anchor any where elſe, except at the place called the Galiote.

In this part are the Spaniſh ſettlements. They conſiſt only of the Port of Spain, upon which there are ſeventy-eight thatched huts; and of Saint Joſeph, ſituated three leagues further up the country, where eighty-eight families, ſtill more wretched than the former, are computed.

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THE cacao was formerly cultivated near theſe two villages. It's excellence made it be preferred even to that of Caraccas. In order to ſecure it, the merchants uſed to pay for it before hand. The trees that produced it periſhed all in 1727, and have not been replanted ſince. The monks attributed this diſaſter to the coloniſts having refuſed to pay the tithes. Thoſe who were not blinded by intereſt or ſuperſtition, aſcribed it to the north winds, which have too frequently occaſioned the ſame kind of calamity in other parts. Since this period, Trinidad hath not been much more frequented than Cubagua.

Account of Cubagua, and of its pearls.

THIS little iſland, at the diſtance of four leagues only from the continent, was diſcovered, and neglected by Columbus, in 1498. The Spaniards, being afterwards informed that it's ſhores contained great treaſures, repaired to it in multitudes in 1509, and gave it the name of Pearl Iſland.

THE pearl is a hard ſhining body, more or leſs white, commonly of a round form, and which is found in ſome ſhells, but more frequently in that which is know'n by the name of mother-of-pearl. This rich production of nature is moſtly attached to the inſide of the ſhell; but it is moſt perfect when found in the animal itſelf, which lives in the ſhell.

THE antients were in an error with reſpect to the origin of the pearl, as well with regard to many other phænomena, which we have obſerved and underſtood better, and which we have explained more ſatisfactorily. Let us not deſpiſe

them the more on this account, neither let us be more vain. Their miſtakes ſometimes diſplay a degree of ſagacity, and have not been entirely uſeleſs to us. They have been the firſt ſteps of ſcience, which time, the efforts of human genius, and a number of fortunate and caſual circumſtances, were to improve. Attempts have been made to tear the veil that covers nature, before it was lifted up.

The Greeks and the Romans uſed to ſay, that the ſhell-fiſh raiſed itſelf every morning to the ſurface of the waters, and received the dew, which was changed into pearl. This agreeable idea hath ſhared the fate of numberleſs fables of the ſame kind, when the ſpirit of obſervation had made it know'n, that this ſhell-fiſh remained always at the bottom of the ſea, or fixed to the rocks where it had been formed; and when ſound philoſophy had demonſtrated, that it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe.

It hath ſince been imagined, that pearls muſt be the eggs, or the ſperm of the fiſh incloſed in the ſhell. But this idea hath likewiſe fallen into diſcredit, when it hath been fully know'n, that the pearls were found in all parts of the animal; and when, after the moſt accurate inveſtigations, anatomy hath not been able to diſcover the organs calculated for generation in this fiſh, which ſeems to add one to the claſs of hermaphroditical animals.

At length, after a variety of ſyſtems lightly adopted, and ſucceſſively abandoned, it hath been imagined that pearls were produced from a diſeaſe

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eaſe in the animal; and that they were formed by a liquor extravaſated from ſome veſſels, and detained between the membranes, or ſpread along the interior ſurface of the ſhell. This conjecture hath been ſtill more confirmed to accurate obſervers, in proportion as it hath been aſcertained, that theſe treaſures were not to be found indiſcriminately in all the fiſh; that thoſe which had them were not ſo well taſted as the others; and that the coaſts upon which this rich fiſhery was carried on were in general unwholeſome.

Black pearls, ſuch as are inclining to black, or ſuch as are of a lead colour, are univerſally deſpiſed. In Arabia, and in ſome other parts of the Eaſt, the yellow pearls are eſteemed. But the white ones are preferred in Europe, and throughout the greateſt part of the globe. It is regretted only that they begin to grow yellow after half a century.

Although pearls had been diſcovered in the ſeas of the Eaſt Indies, and in thoſe of America, yet their price was ſufficiently kept up to induce people to counterfeit them. The imitation was at firſt coarſe. It was glaſs covered with mercury. Attempts have been repeated, and in proceſs of time, nature hath been ſo well copied, that it was eaſy to be miſled. The artificial pearls, which are made at preſent with wax and ichthyocol, have much the advantage of the others. They are cheap; and are made of every ſize and ſhape, to ſuit the women who uſe them for ornament.

THIS diſcovery was unknow'n when the Spaniards ſettled at Cubagua. They arrived there with ſome ſavages of the Lucaya Iſlands, who had not been found proper for the labours of the mines, but who had the faculty of remaining a long time under water with great eaſe. This talent procured to their oppreſſors a great quantity of pearls. Theſe pearls were not ſpoiled, as thoſe had been which had been hitherto collected by the Americans, who were only acquainted with the mode of fire for opening the ſhell that contained them. They were preſerved in all their beauty, and found an advantageous mart. But this ſucceſs was momentary. The pearl bank was ſoon exhauſted; and the colony was tranſferred, in 1524, to Margaretta, where the regretted riches were found, and from whence they diſappeared almoſt as ſoon.

Ideas reſpecting Margaretta.

YET this laſt ſettlement, which is fifteen leagues in length and five in breadth, was not abandoned. It is almoſt continually covered with thick fogs, although nature hath not beſtowed upon it any current waters. There is no village in it except Mon Padre, which is defended by a ſmall fort. It's ſoil would be fruitful if it were cultivated.

IT was almoſt generally ſuppoſed, that the court of Madrid, in preſerving Margaretta and Trinidad, meant rather to keep off rival nations from this continent, than to derive any advantage from them. At preſent we are induced to think otherwiſe. Convinced that the Archipelago of America was full of inhabitants loaded with debts,

or

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or who poſſeſſed but a ſmall quantity of indifferent land, the council of Charles III. hath offered great conceſſions, in theſe two iſlands, to thoſe who ſhould embrace their faith. The freedom of commerce with all the Spaniſh traders was inſured to them. They were only obliged to deliver their cacao to the company of Caraccas, but at twenty-ſeven ſols * per pound, and under the condition that this company ſhould advance them ſome capital. Theſe overtures have only met with a favourable reception at Granada, from whence ſome Frenchmen have made their eſcape with a few ſlaves, either to ſcreen themſelves from the purſuits of their creditors, or from averſion to the ſway of the Engliſh. In every other part, they have had no effect, whether from averſion for an opreſſive government, or whether it be that the expectations of all are at preſent turned towards the North of the New World.

TRINIDAD and Margaretta are at preſent inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who, with ſome Indian women, have formed a race of men, who, uniting the indolence of the ſavage to the vices of civilized nations, are ſluggards, cheats, and zealots. They live upon maize, upon what fiſh they catch, and upon bananas, which nature, out of indulgence as it were to their ſlothfulneſs, produces there of a larger ſize, and better quality, than in any other part of the Archipelago. They have a breed of lean and taſteleſs cattle, with which they carry on a fraudulent traffic to the

* About 1 s. 1 ½ d.

French

French colonies, exchanging them for camblets, black veils, linens, ſilk ſtockings, white hats, and hard-ware. The number of their veſſels does not exceed thirty ſloops, without decks.

THE tame animals of theſe two iſlands have filled the woods with a breed of horned cattle which are become wild. The inhabitants ſhoot them, and cut their fleſh into ſlips of three inches in breadth and one in thickneſs, which they dry, after having melted the fat out of them, ſo that they will keep three or four months. This proviſion, which is called Taſſajo, is ſold in the French ſettlements for twenty livres * a hundred weight.

ALL the money which the government ſends to theſe two iſlands, falls into the hands of the commandants, the officers civil and military, and the monks. The remainder of the people, who do not amount to more than ſixteen hundred, live in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable poverty. In time of war they furniſh about two hundred men, who, for the ſake of plunder, offer themſelves, without diſtinction, to any of the colonies that happen to be fitting out cruizers for ſea. The inhabitants of Porto-Rico are of a different turn.

Conqueſt of Porto-Rico by the Spaniards.

ALTHOUGH this iſland had been diſcovered and viſited by Columbus in 1493, the Spaniards neglected it till 1509, when the thirſt of gold brought them thither from St. Domingo, under the command of Ponce de Leon, to make a conqueſt, which afterwards coſt them dear.

* 16s. 8d.

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It is generally know'n, that the uſe of poiſoned arms is of the higheſt antiquity. In moſt countries, it preceded the invention of ſteel. When darts headed with ſtones, bones of fiſh or other animals, proved inſufficient to repel the attacks of wild beaſts, men had recourſe to poiſonous juices, which, from being originally deſigned merely for the chace, were afterwards employed in the wars of conquering or ſavage people againſt their own ſpecies. Ambition and revenge ſet no limits to their outrages, till ages had been ſpent in drowning whole nations in rivers of blood. When it was diſcovered that this effuſion of blood produced no advantage, and that, in proportion as the ſtream ſwelled in it's courſe, it depopulated countries, and left nothing but deſerts without animation and without culture; they then came to an agreement to moderate, in ſome degree, the thirſt of ſhedding it. They eſtabliſhed what are called the laws of war; that is to ſay, injuſtice in injuſtice, or the intereſt of kings in the maſſacre of the people. They do not now cut the throats of all their victims at once; but reſerve ſome few of the herd to propagate the breed. Theſe laws of war, or of nations, required the abolition of certain abuſes in the art of killing. Where fire-arms are to be had, poiſoned weapons are forbidden; and, when cannon balls will anſwer the end, chewed bullets are not allowed. O! race, unworthy both of heaven or earth, deſtructive, tyrannical being, man, or devil rather, wilt thou never ceaſe to torment this globe, where thou exiſteſt but for a moment! Will thy wars never end

end but with the annihilation of thy ſpecies! Go then; if thou would'ſt advance thy miſchief, go and provide thyſelf with the poiſons of the New World.

Of all the regions, productive of venomous plants, none abounded ſo much in them as South-America, which owed this malignant fertility to a ſoil in general rank, as if it were purging itſelf from the ſlime of a deluge.

The plants called Lianes, of which there were vaſt numbers in all damp and marſhy places, furniſhed the poiſon, which was in univerſal requeſt on the continent. The method of preparing it was by cutting them in pieces, then boiling them in water, till the liquor had acquired the conſiſtence of a ſyrup. After this they dipped their arrows in it, which were immediately impregnated with the poiſonous quality. During ſeveral ages, the ſavages in general uſed theſe arms in their wars with each other. At length many of thoſe nations, from the deficiency of their numbers, found the neceſſity of renouncing ſo deſtructive a weapon, and reſerved it for beaſts, whether large or ſmall, which they could not overtake or overcome. Any animal, whoſe ſkin has been raiſed with one of theſe poiſoned arrows, dies a minute after, without any ſign of convulſion or pain. This is not occaſioned by the coagulation of the blood, which was a long time the general opinion; recent experiments have proved, that this poiſon, mixed with blood newly draw'n and warm, prevents it from coagulating, and even preſerves it ſome time from putrefaction. It is probable, that

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that the effect of theſe juices is upon the nervous ſyſtem. Some travellers have imputed the origin of the venereal diſeaſe among the inhabitants of the New World, to the habit of eating game killed with theſe poiſoned arms. At preſent it is univerſally know'n, that the fleſh of ſuch animals may be eaten for a continuance without any ill effect.

In the American iſlands, the natives draw their poiſon from trees, more than from the Lianes; and of all the venomous ſorts of trees, the moſt deadly is the mancheneel.

This tree is rather lofty, and uſually grows by the water ſide. It hath the figure and leaves of the pear-tree. It's trunk, which is of a compact, heavy, veiny wood, fit for joiners work, is covered with a ſmooth and tender bark. It bears two ſpecies of flowers. Some are male, and diſpoſed in catkins at the extremity of the branches. They have in each calix but one thread ſurmounted with two antheræ. The female flowers are ſingle. Their piſtil becomes a ſtraight fleſhy fruit, of the form of a fig or a pear, and containing a very hard kernel, in which are five or ſix ſeeds in ſo many different cells. In all parts of the tree, and eſpecially between the trunk and the bark, a milky juice is found, which is conſidered as a very ſubtile poiſon, and which renders the cultivation of this tree, and even the coming near to it, very dangerous. One cannot ſleep with impunity under the ſhade of it, and the water which drops from it's leaves after a ſhower, raiſes bliſters upon the ſkin, and excites a troubleſome

bleſome itching. The juice of the mancheneel is received into ſhells, placed under various inciſions that have been made in it's trunk. As ſoon as this juice is grow'n a little thick, the points of the arrows are ſteeped in it, which acquire from thence the property of conveying ſudden death, be the wound ever ſo ſlight. This poiſon, as it appears from experience, preſerves it's venomous quality above a hundred years. Of all the ſpots where this fatal tree is found, Porto-Rico is that in which it delights moſt, and where it is found in the greateſt abundance. Why were not the firſt conquerors of America all ſhipwrecked on this iſland? It is the misfortune of both worlds that they became acquainted with it ſo late, and that they did not there meet with the death which their avarice merited.

The mancheneel ſeems to have been fatal only to the Americans. The inhabitants of the iſland where it grows, uſed it to repel the Caribs, who made frequent deſcents on their coaſts. The ſame arms they might have employed againſt the Europeans; and, as the Spaniards were ignorant at that time that ſalt, applied immediately, is an infallible cure, they would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to the firſt effects of this poiſon. But they did not meet with the leaſt reſiſtance from the ſavage inhabitants of the iſland. Theſe had been informed of what had occurred in the conqueſt of the neighbouring iſles; and they regarded theſe ſtrangers as a ſuperior order of beings, to whoſe chains they voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves. It was not long, however, before they wiſhed to

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ſhake off the intolerable yoke which had been impoſed on them, and poſtponed the enterpriſe only till they could be aſſured whether their tyrants were immortal. A Cacique, named Broyoan, was intruſted with this commiſſion.

CHANCE favoured his deſign, by bringing to him Salzedo, a young Spaniard, who was travelling. He received him with great reſpect, and at his departure ſent ſome Indians to attend him on his way, and to ſerve him in the quality of guides. When they came to the bank of a river, which they were to paſs, one of theſe ſavages took him on his ſhoulder to carry him over. As ſoon as they had got into the midſt of it, he threw him into the water, and, with the aſſiſtance of his companions, kept him there till there was no appearance of life. They then dragged him to the bank; but, as they were ſtill in doubt whether he was dead or living, they begged pardon a thouſand times for the accident that had happened. This farce laſted three days; till at length being convinced, by the ſtench of the corpſe, that it was poſſible for Spaniards to die, the Indians roſe on all ſides upon their oppreſſors, and maſſacred a hundred of them.

PONCE DE LEON immediately aſſembled all the Caſtilians who had eſcaped, and, without loſs of time, fell upon the ſavages, who were terrified with this ſudden attack. In proportion as the number of their enemies increaſed, their panic became more violent. They had even the folly to believe, that theſe Spaniards, which were juſt arrived from St. Domingo, were the ſame that had been killed,

killed, and were come to life again to fight them. Under this ridiculous perſuaſion, dreading to continue a war with men who revive after their death, they ſubmitted once more to the yoke, and, being condemned to the mines, in a ſhort time fell victims to the toils of ſlavery.

Porto-Rico hath thirty-ſix leagues in length, eighteen in breadth, and one hundred in circumference. We may venture to affirm, that it is one of the beſt, if not entirely the beſt, of the iſlands of the New World, in proportion to it's extent. The air is wholeſome, and tolerably temperate, and it is watered by the pure ſtreams of a conſiderable number of ſmall rivulets. It's mountains are covered with either uſeful or valuable trees, and it's vallies have a degree of fertility ſeldom to be met with elſewhere. All the productions peculiar to America thrive upon this deep ſoil. A ſafe port, commodious harbours, and coaſts of eaſy acceſs, are added to theſe ſeveral advantages.

Preſent ſtate of Porto-Rico.

On this territory, deprived of it's ſavage inhabitants by ferocious deeds, the memory of which three centuries have not been able to obliterate, was ſucceſſively formed a population of forty-four thouſand eight hundred and eighty-three men, either white or of a mixt race. Moſt of them were naked. Their habitations were nothing more than huts. Nature, with little or no aſſiſtance, ſupplied them with ſubſiſtence. The linens, and ſome other things of little value, which they clandeſtinely obtained from the neighbouring or from foreign iſlands, were paid for

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by the colony with tobacco, cattle, and with the money which was ſent by government for the ſupport of the civil, religious, and military eſtabliſhment. They received from the mother-country, annually, only one ſmall veſſel, the cargo of which did not amount to more than ten thouſand crowns*, and which returned to Europe laden with hides.

Such was Porto Rico, when in 1765, the court of Madrid carried their attention to St. John, an excellent harbour, even for the royal navy, and which only wants a little more extent. The town which commands it, was ſurrounded with fortifications. The works were made particularly ſtrong towards a narrow and marſhy neck of land, the only place by which the town can be attacked on the land ſide. Two battalions, and one company of artillery, croſſed the ſea for it's defence.

At this period, a poſſeſſion which had annually received from the treaſury no more than 378,000†, coſt them 2,634,433 livres ‡, which ſum was regularly brought from Mexico. This increaſe of ſpecie ſtimulated the coloniſts to undertake ſome labours. At the ſame time, the iſland, which till then had been under the yoke of monopoly, was allowed to receive all Spaniſh navigators. Theſe two circumſtances united, imparted ſome degree of animation to a ſettlement, the languiſhing ſtate of which aſtoniſhed all nations. It's tithes, which before 1765, did

* 1250l. † 15,750l. ‡ 109,768l. os. 10d.

not

not yield more than 81,000 livres *, have increaſed to 230,418 livres †.

On the firſt of January 1778, the population of Porto-Rico amounted to fourſcore thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty inhabitants, of which number only ſix thouſand five hundred and thirty were ſlaves. The inhabitants reckoned ſeventy-ſeven thouſand three hundred and eighty-four head of horned cattle, twenty-three thouſand one hundred and ninety-five horſes, fifteen hundred and fifteen mules, and forty-nine thouſand fifty-eight head of ſmall cattle.

The plantations, the number of which were five thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-one, produced two thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven quintals of ſugar; eleven hundred and fourteen quintals of cotton; eleven thouſand one hundred and ſixty-three quintals of coffee; nineteen thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix quintals of rice; fifteen thouſand two hundred and ſixteen quintals of maize; ſeven thouſand four hundred and fifty-eight quintals of tobacco; and nine thouſand eight-hundred and ſixty quintals of melaſſes.

The cattle in the ſeveral paſture grounds, which were two hundred and thirty-four in number, produced annually eleven thouſand three hundred and ſixty-four oxen; four thouſand three-hundred and thirty-four horſes; nine hundred and fifty-two mules; thirty-one thouſand two hundred and fifty-four head of ſmall cattle.

* 3,375 l. † 9,680 l. 15 s.

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Means which would render Porto-Rico flouriſhing.

All this is very trifling; but great expectations are raiſed from an arrangement which hath lately been made. No one citizen of Porto-Rico was in reality maſter of his poſſeſſions. The commanders who had ſucceeded each other, had only granted the income of them. This inconceivable defect hath at length been remedied. The proprietors have been confirmed in their poſſeſſions, by a law of 14th of January 1778, upon condition of paying annually one real and a quarter, or ſixteen ſols ſix deniers*, for every portion of ground of twenty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and eight toiſes, which they employed in cultures; and three-quarters of a real, or ten ſols one denier and a half†, for that part of the ſoil that is reſerved for paſture ground. This eaſy tribute is to ſerve for the clothing of the militia, compoſed of one thouſand nine hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. The remainder of the iſland is diſtributed on the ſame conditions to thoſe who have little or no property. Theſe laſt, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Agregés*, are ſeven thouſand eight hundred and thirty-five in number.

This plan will not accompliſh the revolution which is expected by the council of Spain; although, contrary to the preciſe determination of the laws, every coloniſt who chooſes to eſtabliſh ſugar plantations, be allowed to call in the aſſiſtance of any foreigner who is able to teach him that kind of culture. Theſe coloniſts ought to be autho-

* 8 ¼ d. † Rather above 5 d.

rized

rized to ſell openly to the French, the Dutch, the Engliſh, and the Danes, the cattle which they have been hitherto obliged to diſpoſe of in a clandeſtine manner only.

Man ſuffers, only becauſe he knows not how to put an end to his pain. If he ſhould languiſh in miſery, it is merely from being incapable of changing his ſituation. It would be a groſs error to imagine, that in a ſtate of nature we can ſee man in perpetual agitation, inceſſantly obſerving and making all kinds of experiments, as we ſee him in a civilized ſtate. Experience hath proved, that it requires ages for him to emerge from his natural torpid ſtate; and that when once his induſtry is ſubject to a certain invariable mode of proceeding, and from the ſmall number of his wants, reſtrained within narrow and circumſcribed limits, it will never be rouzed of itſelf. What method can then be contrived to ſhorten the duration of his indolence, of his ſtupidity, and of his miſery? For this purpoſe, he muſt be made acquainted with active beings, and muſt be placed in conſtant intercourſe with laborious people. He will ſoon open his eyes with aſtoniſhment; he will ſoon be conſcious that he likewiſe hath had hands given to him, and will ſcarce conceive how it could have been poſſible, that the idea of making uſe of them ſhould not have occurred to him ſooner. The ſight of the enjoyments that are obtained by labour, will inſpire him with the deſire of partaking of them, and he will work. Invention is peculiar to genius, and imitation is peculiar to man. It is by

imitation that all ſcarce things have become, and will hereafter become, common. This is the propenſity which the court of Madrid ought to encourage, if not from motives of humanity, at leaſt, from the proſpect of the political advantages they might expect to reap from it.

MATTERS perhaps might, and indeed ought to be carried ſtill further. Let Spain declare Porto-Rico a neutral iſland, and let this neutrality be acknowleged by all the powers that have any poſſeſſions in America. Let the lands, which are not yet cultivated, be granted to enterpriſing men of all nations, who ſhall have a capital ſufficient to eſtabliſh cultures. Let perſons, lands, and productions, be exempted from all taxes for the ſpace of fifty years, or more. Let the harbours be opened indiſcriminately to all traders, free from cuſtoms, from reſtraints, and from formalities. Let no other troops be kept but thoſe neceſſary for the police; and let theſe be foreign troops. Let a very plain code of laws be draw'n up, ſuitable to a ſtate of huſbandmen, or of merchants. Let the citizens themſelves be the magiſtrates, or the magiſtrates be choſen by them. Let property, that firſt and great baſis of all political ſocieties, be eſtabliſhed upon unmoveable foundations. Before half a century ſhall be elapſed, Porto-Rico will moſt undoubtedly be one of the moſt flouriſhing colonies of the New World. It may then again become, without inconvenience, a truly national poſſeſſion. It's abundant productions, which will have coſt neither care, expence, anxiety, nor war to Spain, will increaſe

increaſe the maſs of national riches, and the public revenue.

But if even this plan of adminiſtration were the inſpiration of wiſdom itſelf: if it were dictated by the moſt certain views of intereſt; if the ſucceſs of it could be geometrically proved, yet it would never be carried into execution; and for this reaſon: It is becauſe it hath not been ſuggeſted by a native of Spain, and that it ſuppoſes the concurrence of foreigners. No country can do any thing of itſelf; and yet, from a deteſtable, puerile, and ridiculous vanity, we wiſh to do every thing by ourſelves; we are blind, and yet we will not receive light from others. In monarchical ſtates, the way to exclude an able man from an important ſituation, is to anticipate, by popular choice, the appointment of the court; and this is a mode which hatred and jealouſy ſeldom fail of employing. The ſame method would ſucceed as certainly between the reſpective courts. In order to prevent a miniſter from purſuing any wiſe meaſure, nothing more is neceſſary, than that another miniſter ſhould aſſume, by divulging it, the credit of having firſt thought of it himſelf. Nothing is more ſcarce, than to find among miniſters of the ſame court, one citizen, great, honeſt, and good enough, to purſue a project begun by his predeceſſor. Thus do abuſes become perpetual in the nation. Thus is every thing begun, and nothing accompliſhed, from motives of a fooliſh kind of pride, the influence of which extends itſelf over all the branches of adminiſtration, which ſuſpends the progreſs of civilization, and would have ſettled all nations in a ſtate of barbariſm,

barbariſm, had their chiefs been conſtantly, and at all times, equally affected by it.

If, however, the meaſures we have ventured to propoſe to the court of Madrid ſhould appear to them liable to inconveniences, which may have eſcaped our notice, they might at leaſt derive from themſelves part of thoſe advantages which we ſhould be happy to ſee them obtain. The navigation to the Spaniſh Indies is forbidden to the Biſcayans. As their ports are freed, both on the going out and coming in of the ſhips, from the duties which are impoſed upon all the other ports, the government have been apprehenſive that they might obtain too great a ſuperiority over the ſubjects of the monarchy, who do not enjoy the ſame privileges. Let Porto-Rico be opened to theſe active men, where their competition cannot be prejudicial to rivals who have never attended to this trade, and the iſland will ſoon acquire ſome degree of importance. The ſame arrangement might be extended to St. Domingo.

What were the events that occaſioned St. Domingo to degenerate from that ſtate of ſplendour to which that iſland had been raiſed.

This iſland, famous for being the earlieſt ſettlement of the Spaniards in the New World, was at firſt in high eſtimation for the quantity of gold it ſupplied. This wealth diminiſhed with the inhabitants of the country, whom they obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth; and the ſource of it was entirely dried up, when the neighbouring iſlands no longer ſupplied the loſs of thoſe wretched victims to the avarice of the conqueror. A vehement deſire of opening again this ſource of wealth, inſpired the thought of getting ſlaves from Africa; but

but, beſides that theſe were found unfit for the labours they were deſtined to, the multitude of mines, which then began to be wrought on the continent, made thoſe of St. Domingo no longer of any importance. An idea now ſuggeſted itſelf, that their Negroes, which were healthy, ſtrong, and patient, might be uſefully employed in huſbandry; and they adopted, through neceſſity, a wiſe reſolution, which, had they know'n their own intereſt, they would have embraced by choice.

The produce of their induſtry was at firſt extremely ſmall, becauſe the labourers were few. Charles V., who, like moſt ſovereigns, preferred his favourites to his ſubjects, had granted an excluſive right of the ſlave trade to a Flemiſh nobleman, who made over his privilege to the Genoeſe. Thoſe avaricious republicans conducted this infamous commerce as all monopolies are conducted; they reſolved to ſell dear, and they ſold but little. When time and competition had fixed the natural and neceſſary price of ſlaves, the number of them increaſed. It may eaſily be imagined, that the Spaniards, who had been accuſtomed to treat the Indians as beaſts, though they differed but little in complexion from themſelves, did not entertain a higher opinion of theſe Negro Africans, who were ſubſtituted to them. Degraded ſtill further in their eyes by the price they had paid for them, even religion could not reſtrain them from aggravating the weight of their ſervitude. It became intolerable, and theſe wretched ſlaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. Their attempt proved unſucceſsful;

ſucceſsful; but they reaped this benefit from their deſpair, that they were afterwards treated with leſs inhumanity.

This moderation (if tyranny, cramped by the apprehenſion of revolt, can deſerve that name) was attended with good conſequences. Cultivation was purſued with ſome degree of ſucceſs. Soon after the middle of the ſixteenth century, the mother-country drew annually from this colony ten millions weight of ſugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, tobacco, cocoa, caſſia, ginger, cotton, and peltry in abundance. One might imagine, that ſuch favourable beginnings would give both the deſire and the means of extending this trade; but a train of events, each more fatal than the other, ruined theſe hopes.

The firſt misfortune aroſe from the depopulation of St. Domingo. The Spaniſh conqueſts on the continent ſhould naturally have contributed to promote the ſucceſs of an iſland, which nature ſeemed to have formed to be the center of that vaſt dominion ariſing round it, to be the ſtaple of the different colonies: but it happened quite otherwiſe. On a view of the immenſe fortunes raiſing in Mexico, and other parts, the richeſt inhabitants of St. Domingo began to deſpiſe their ſettlements, and quitted the true ſource of riches, which is, in a manner, on the ſurface of the earth, to go and ranſack the bowels of it for veins of gold, which are ſoon exhauſted. The government endeavoured in vain to put a ſtop to this emigration; the laws were always either artfully eluded, or openly violated.

The

THE weakneſs, which was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a conduct, leaving the coaſts without defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even the capital of this iſland was taken and pillaged by that celebrated Engliſh ſailor, Francis Drake. The cruizers of leſs conſequence, contented themſelves with intercepting veſſels in their paſſage through thoſe latitudes, the beſt know'n at that time of any in the New World. To complete theſe misfortunes, the Caſtilians themſelves commenced pirates. They attacked no ſhips but thoſe of their own nation, which were more rich, worſe provided, and worſe defended, than any others. The cuſtom they had of fitting out ſhips clandeſtinely, in order to procure ſlaves, prevented them from being know'n; and the aſſiſtance they purchaſed from the ſhips of war, commiſſioned to protect the trade, inſured to them impunity.

THE foreign trade of the colony was it's only reſource in this diſtreſs; and that was prohibited; but as it was ſtill carried on, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the governors, or perhaps, by their connivance, the policy of an exaſperated and unenlightened court exerted itſelf in demoliſhing moſt of the ſea-ports, and driving the miſerable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a ſtate of dejection, which the incurſions and ſettlement of the French on the iſland afterwards carried to the utmoſt pitch.

SPAIN, totally taken up with that vaſt empire which ſhe had formed on the continent, uſed no

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pains to diſſipate this lethargy. She even refuſed to liſten to the ſolicitations of her Flemiſh ſubjects, who earneſtly preſſed that they might have permiſſion to clear thoſe fertile lands. Rather than run the riſque of ſeeing them carry on a contraband trade on the coaſts, ſhe choſe to bury in oblivion a ſettlement which had been of conſequence, and was likely to become ſo again.

Preſent ſtate of the Spaniſh portion of St. Domingo.

This colony, which had no longer any intercourſe with the mother-country, but by a ſingle ſhip of no great burden, received from thence every third year, conſiſted in 1717 of eighteen thouſand four hundred and ten inhabitants, including Spaniards, Meſtees, Negroes, or Mulattoes. The complexion and character of theſe people differed according to the different proportions of American, European, and African blood they had received from that natural and tranſient union which reſtores all races and conditions to the ſame level; for love is not more a reſpecter of perſons than death. Theſe demi-ſavages, plunged in the extreme of ſloth, lived upon fruits and roots, dwelt in cottages without furniture, and had moſt of them no clothes. The few among them, in whom indolence had not totally ſuppreſſed the ſenſe of decency and taſte for the conveniences of life, purchaſed clothes of their neighbours the French, in return for their cattle, and the money ſent to them for the maintenance of two hundred ſoldiers, the prieſts, and the government. The company, formed at Barcelona in 1757, with excluſive privileges for the re-eſtabliſhment of St. Domingo, hath had no ſucceſs.

ſucceſs. Since that iſland hath been opened, in 1766, to all Spaniſh navigators, it hath ſtill remained in the ſame ſtate. The quantity of ſugar canes, of coffee trees, and of tobacco, which may have been planted there, is not ſufficient for it's own conſumption, far from being able to contribute to that of the mother-country. The colony furniſhes annually to the national trade, no more than five or ſix thouſand hides, and ſome proviſions, of ſo little value, that they ſcarce deſerve to be reckoned.

THIS deficiency of cultivation is univerſally felt in the iſland. Sant Yago, La Vega, Seibo, and other places in the inland parts, formerly ſo renowned for their riches, are no longer any thing more than obſcure hamlets, where nothing revives the memory of their antient ſplendour.

THE coaſts do not exhibit a more animated appearance. To the ſouth of the colony is the narrow and deep bay of Ocoa, which might be called a harbour. It is in this place where the Spaniards have no ſettlements, although they are near a ſalt-pit, which is ſufficient for their neceſſities, that the ſilver which is ſent from Mexico for the expences of government is depoſited, and from whence it is conveyed upon horſes to St. Domingo, which is at no more than fifteen leagues diſtance.

THIS famous capital of the iſland received for a long time it's neceſſaries directly from foreigners; but at that period the Lozama, with which it's walls are watered, was able to admit veſſels of ſix hundred tons burthen. Since the mouth

 of

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of this river hath been almoſt choaked by the ſands, and by the ſtones it brings away from the mountains, the town is not in a better condition than the harbour; and magnificent ruins are the only remains of it. The country that ſurrounds it exhibits nothing but briars, and a ſmall number of cattle.

THE river Macouſſis runs fourteen leagues above that place, where the few American veſſels that come to trade in the iſland are uſed to land. They diſembark their ſmall cargoes by means of a few little iſlands, which afford a tolerable ſhelter.

FURTHER on, but ſtill on the ſame coaſt, the Rumana runs through the moſt beautiful plains that can poſſibly be conceived. Nevertheleſs, there is nothing to be found upon this extenſive and fertile ſoil, except one hamlet, which would have a miſerable appearance, even in thoſe countries that are the moſt ill-treated by nature.

THE North of the colony is no better than the South. Porto de Plata, the beauty and excellence of which it would be difficult to exaggerate, preſents only a few huts, in it's numerous creeks, and on it's rich territory.

THE Iſabellica which hath a beautiful river, immenſe plains, and foreſts filled with precious woods, doth not exhibit a more flouriſhing appearance.

WITH as many, or even with more means of proſperity, Monte-Chriſto is nothing more than a ſtaple, where Engliſh ſmugglers come habitually to take in the commodities of ſome French plantations, ſettled

ſettled in the neighbourhood. The hoſtilities between the courts of London and Verſailles, render the fraudulent connections infinitely more conſiderable; and this mart acquires at that time a great degree of importance. But this incipient animation ceaſes, as ſoon as the miniſtry of Madrid think it ſuitable to their intereſts, to take a part in the diſputes between the two rival nations.

The Spaniards have no ſettlement in the weſtern part of the iſland, which is entirely occupied by the French; and it is only ſince the laſt war that they have thought of ſettling to the eaſtward, which they had long entirely neglected.

The project of cultivation might be carried into execution in the plain of Vega-Real, which is ſituated in the inland part, and is fourſcore leagues in length, by ten in it's greateſt breadth. It would be difficult to find, throughout the New World, a ſpot more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of America would ſucceed admirably there; but it would be impoſſible to remove them from thence without making roads; which is an undertaking that would alarm a people more enterpriſing than the Spaniards. Theſe difficulties ſhould naturally have led them to fix their attention on ſome exceeding good coaſts, already a little inhabited, and where ſome ſubſiſtence would have been found. Probably it was apprehended that the new coloniſts would adopt the manners of the old, and therefore Samana was determined upon.

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SAMANA is a peninſula, five leagues broad, and ſixteen long; the ſoil of which, though rather uneven, is very fit for the richeſt productions of the New World. It hath, moreover, the advantage of affording to the ſhips that come from Europe, an eaſy landing and a ſafe anchorage.

THESE conſiderations induced the firſt adventurers from France, who ravaged St. Domingo, to ſettle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though ſurrounded by their enemies. At length, it was found that they were too much expoſed, and at too great a diſtance from the reſt of the French ſettlements on the iſland, which were every day improving. In conſequence of this they were recalled. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure; but did not take poſſeſſion of the ſpot they had quitted.

WITHIN theſe few years, however, the court of Madrid have ſent thither ſome people from the Canaries; the ſtate have been at the expence of the voyage, of their eſtabliſhment, and of their maintenance for ſeveral years. Theſe meaſures, prudent as they were, have not been attended with ſucceſs. The new inhabitants have for the moſt part fallen victims to the climate, to the clearing of the ground, undertaken without precautions, and, above all, to the diſhoneſty of the governors, who have appropriated to themſelves the funds they were intruſted with. The few that have ſurvived ſo many evils, languiſh under the expectation of approaching death. Let us ſee whether the efforts made to render Cuba flouriſhing, have been more fortunate.

THE

Conqueſt of the iſland of Cuba by the Spaniards.

THE iſland of Cuba, which is ſeparated from St. Domingo by a narrow channel, is of itſelf equal in value to a kingdom: it is two hundred and thirty leagues in length, and in breadth from fourteen to twenty-four. None of it's rivers are navigable: in three or four of them only, the boats can go up to the height of two, four, or ſix leagues, during the greateſt part of the year. To the north, the Havannah, Bahiabonda, Maiul and Matanza, can receive men of war; but the ſouthern harbours, as Cuba, Xaguas, Port au Prince, Bayamo, Bacaton, Nipe, Batabano, and Trinidad, admit only merchantmen.

THOUGH Cuba was diſcovered by Columbus, in 1492, the Spaniards did not attempt to make themſelves maſters of it till 1511, when Diego de Velaſquez came with four ſhips, and landed on the eaſtern point.

THIS diſtrict was under the government of a Cacique named Hatuey. He was a native of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, and had retired hither to avoid the ſlavery to which his countrymen were condemned. Thoſe, who could eſcape the tyranny of the Caſtilians, had followed him in his retreat, where he formed a little ſtate, and ruled in peace. At a diſtance he obſerved the Spaniſh ſails, the approach of which he dreaded. On the firſt news he received of their arrival, he called together the braveſt Indians, both of his ſubjects and allies, to animate them to a defence of their liberty; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, if they did not firſt render the God of their enemies propitious to them:

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them: *Behold him there,* ſaid he, pointing to a veſſel filled with gold, *behold that mighty divinity, let us invoke his aid!*

THIS ſimple and credulous people eaſily believed that gold, for the ſake of which ſo much blood was ſhed, was the God of the Spaniards. They danced and ſang before the rude and unfaſhioned ore, and reſigned themſelves wholly to it's protection.

BUT Hatuey, more enlightened, and more ſuſpicious than the other Caciques, aſſembled them again. *We muſt not,* ſaid he to them, *expect any happineſs ſo long as the God of the Spaniards remains among us. He is no leſs our enemy than they. They ſeek for him in every place; and where they find him, there they eſtabliſh themſelves. Were he hidden in the cavities of the earth, they would diſcover him. Were we to ſwallow him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels, and drag him out. There is no place but the bottom of the ſea, that can elude their ſearch. When he is no longer among us, doubtleſs we ſhall be forgotten by them.* As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, every man brought out his gold, and threw it into the ſea.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the Spaniards advanced. Their muſkets and cannons, thoſe tremendous deities, diſperſed with their thunder the ſavages, who endeavoured to reſiſt: but, as Hatuey might reaſſemble them, he was purſued through the woods, taken, and condemned to be burned. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, and waited only for the kindling of the fire, an inhuman prieſt advanced to propoſe the ceremony of baptiſm, and

and to ſpeak to him of paradiſe. *Are there*, ſaid the Cacique, *any Spaniards in that happy place? Yes*, replied the miſſionary; *but there are none but good ones. The beſt of them*, returned Hatuey, *are good for nothing. I will not go to a place, where I ſhould be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk no more to me of your religion, but leave me to die.*

THUS was the Cacique burned, the God of the Chriſtians diſhonoured, and his croſs imbrued with human blood; but Velaſquez found no more enemies to oppoſe him. No reſiſtance was made, and yet the nation did not long ſurvive the loſs of it's liberty. In thoſe ferocious times, when to conquer was nothing but to deſtroy, ſeveral inhabitants of Cuba were maſſacred; a greater number of them ended their lives in the gold mines, although they were not found abundant enough to be worked for any length of time. At laſt the ſmall-pox, that poiſon which hath been tranſmitted from the Old to the New World, in exchange for a ſtill more fatal poiſon, completed what had been ſo much forwarded by the other calamities. The whole iſland was ſoon reduced to a deſert.

Importance, government, population, cultures, and other labours of Cuba.

IT was indebted for it's revival to the pilot Alaminos, who in 1519 firſt paſſed the canal of Bahama, when he was carrying the firſt intelligence of the ſucceſs of Cortez to the Emperor Charles V. It was ſoon underſtood, that this would be the only convenient road for the ſhips that ſhould ſail from Mexico to Europe, and the Havannah was built to receive them. The utility of this celebrated port was afterwards extend-

ed to the veſſels diſpatched from Porto-Bello and from Carthagena. They all put in there, and waited reciprocally for each other, in order to arrive together in the mother-country with a greater degree of parade and of ſecurity. The prodigious expences which navigators, laden with the richeſt treaſures of the world incurred during their ſtay, occaſioned an immenſe circulation of money in the town, which was itſelf compelled to ſend a part of it into the countries more or leſs diſtant, from whence it derived it's ſubſiſtance. Cuba thus acquired ſome degree of animation, while the other iſlands, under the ſame dominion, ſtill continued in that ſtate of annihilation into which they had been plunged by the conqueſt.

In order to accelerate the ſlow progreſs of this ſettlement a particular aſſociation was formed in 1735. The funds of the new company conſiſted of one million of piaſters, or of 5,400,000 livres*. They were divided into two thouſand ſhares, one hundred of which belonged to the crown. The privilege of this company was excluſive. They eſtabliſhed a factory at Cadix; but Cuba itſelf was the ſeat of the monoply.

The directors, at a diſtance from the mother-country, attended only to the making of their own fortunes, they committed numberleſs malverſations; and the company, whoſe intereſts they managed, were ſo completely ruined in the ſpace of twenty years, that it was no longer poſſible for

* 225,000 l.

them

them to continue their tranſactions. The government then authorized a few merchants to carry on this trade, and in 1765, all the Spaniards were freely admitted into a poſſeſſion, which ought never to have been ſhut againſt them.

A GOVERNOR, who bears the title of captain general, preſides at preſent over the colony. He determines all matters relative to the civil and the military branches; but the finances are under the direction of an intendant. Magiſtrates, whoſe judgments may be ſet aſide by the audience of St. Domingo, diſtribute juſtice in the eighteen juriſdictions which divide the iſland.

THE biſhop's ſee, and his chapter, are in the town of Cuba. Neither they, nor any other members of the clergy receive the tithes; they belong, as in the reſt of the New World, to the crown; but in this, as well as in other places, without being a reſource for the treaſury. There are twenty-three convents of men, and three nunneries in the colony, the eſtates of which are valued, according to the moſt moderate calculation, at 14,589,590 livres*. The funds which belong to the order of St. Jean de Dieu, and which are deſtined for public uſe, are not included in this calculation.

CHILDREN are either well or ill educated in moſt of theſe convents. There is, ever ſince 1728, an univerſity at the Havannah, which hath a revenue of 37,800 livres†, and leſs than two hundred ſcholars.

* 607,899 l. 11 s. 8 d. † 1,575 l.

NINETEEN hoſpitals are diſtributed over the iſland; and there, as in all other parts, people are by no means unanimous with reſpect to the utility of theſe eſtabliſhments, or to the beſt mode of regulating them. Alas! then, every thing that concerns government is ſtill problematic, and the queſtions which more particularly affect the happineſs of the human ſpecies, are, perhaps, thoſe which have been the leaſt ſatisfactorily ſolved.

THE countries of the globe, which pretend to civilization, are full of indolent men, who chuſe rather to ſue for alms in the ſtreets, than to employ their ſtrength in the manufactures. Our intention is not certainly to harden the hearts of men, but we will pronounce, without heſitation, that theſe wretches are ſo many robbers of the real poor; and that whoever grants them any aſſiſtance becomes their accomplice. The knowlege of their hypocriſy, of their vices, of their debaucheries, of their nocturnal ſaturnalia, leſſens the commiſeration that is due to real indigence. It is certainly a diſagreeable taſk to deprive a citizen of his liberty, which is the only thing he poſſeſſes, and to add impriſonment to his miſery. And yet the man who prefers the abject ſtate of a beggar, to an aſylum where he might earn clothes and ſubſiſtence by his labour, is a vicious perſon who ought to be carried there by force. There are many countries where, from miſtaken motives of compaſſion, the profeſſed beggars are ſuffered to remain at liberty. The adminiſtra-

adminiſtration of thoſe countries diſplays, in this inſtance, more humanity than judgment.

But beſide the ſtate of beggary, which is brought on by a ſpirit of idleneſs, there muſt neceſſarily be poor people without number in every place where there are multitudes of men, who have no protection againſt miſery but in their labour. For all theſe unfortunate people, a day of ſickneſs is a day of indigence. Every old man is poor. Every man who is diſabled either by accident, or by natural deformity, old or young, is a poor man. Every labourer, every ſoldier, every ſailor, who hath either got no employment, or is unable to ſerve, is a poor man. Poverty begets poverty; were it only from the impoſſibility that indigent perſons ſhould give any kind of education, or furniſh any employment to their children. A great conflagration, an inundation, a hail ſtorm, a long and rigorous winter, an epidemical diſorder, a famine, a war, great and ſudden reductions of rent, bankruptcies, bad, and even ſometimes good operations of finance, the invention of a new machine: every cauſe, in a word, which deprives the citizen of his ſtate, and which ſuſpends, or ſuddenly diminiſhes the daily labours, occaſions an incredible number of people to be reduced to poverty in an inſtant.

And yet, who are theſe numerous unfortunate people, who are reduced to inevitable poverty without any fault of their own, and perhaps from the injuſtice of our conſtitutional laws? They are uſeful men who have cultivated the lands, cut the ſtones, conſtructed our edifices, nouriſh-

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ed our children, worked in our mines and in our quarries, defended our country, aſſiſted the efforts of genius, and been ſerviceable in all the branches of induſtry.

In order to ſuccour theſe intereſting beings, hoſpitals have been contrived. But do theſe eſtabliſhments anſwer the end of their inſtitution? Almoſt in all places they have a number of moral and natural defects, which render the utility of them doubtful in their preſent ſtate.

Particular and temporary ſuccours, prudently diſpenſed by government in a ſeaſon of great popular calamities, would perhaps be better than hoſpitals which are perpetually maintained. They would prevent beggary, while hoſpitals encourage it. Theſe aſylums for misfortune, are almoſt all in poſſeſſion of landed property. This kind of property is liable to too many embarraſſments, and to diſhoneſty in the management of it, and ſubject to too many viciſſitudes in it's produce. The directors of it are permanent. Hence their zeal is diminiſhed, and the ſpirit of fraud and rapine, or at leaſt that of indifference is ſubſtituted to it. Theſe ſacred depoſits become at laſt the revenue of thoſe who manage them. The adminiſtration of theſe eſtabliſhments, is almoſt always a myſtery to the government and to the public, while nothing would be more honeſt and more neceſſary, than that it ſhould be expoſed to public view: it is alſo arbitrary, and it ought to be ſubjected to the moſt careful and rigorous examination. The depredations that are committed in the palaces of kings, are the ſubject of much

much diſcuſſion. There at leaſt magnificence, abundance, and the etiquette, which compoſes the falſe greatneſs of the throne, are in ſome ſort an apology for this diſſipation; for where there are kings, it is well know'n, there muſt likewiſe be abuſes. But hoſpitals are liable to ſtill greater malverſations, and yet they are the houſes of the poor! they are the fortunes of the poor! every thing ought there to preſent the ſtricteſt ideas of œconomy and order; every circumſtance ought to render theſe duties ſacred. You, who are the directors of theſe aſylums, if you be guilty of negligence, your hearts muſt be obdurate! But if you ſhould allow yourſelves to commit extortions, by what name can you be called? You are fit only to be trampled upon in the duſt, and to be drenched in blood.

The natural defects of our hoſpitals are ſtill more deplorable than the moral vices of them. The air is corrupted by a thouſand cauſes, the detail of which would be diſguſting to all our ſenſes. We may form a judgment of this from one inconteſtible experiment. Three thouſand men, confined within the limits of one acre, muſt, by their perſpiration alone, form an atmoſphere of the height of ſixty inches, which becomes contagious if the air be not perpetually renewed. All the people who are habitually employed in the ſervice of the ſick are pale, and moſtly attacked, even in a ſtate of health, with a peculiar kind of ſlow fever. How much greater muſt the ſame cauſe operate upon a ſick perſon? People are diſcharged from the hoſpital cured of one diſeaſe,

eaſe, and carry away another along with them. Patients are a long time recovering. How many fatal neglects, and unfortunate miſtakes are committed! The frequency of them ſtifles remorſe.

At the Hotel Dieu of Paris, and at Bicêtre, the fifth and the ſixth part of the ſick periſh; at the hoſpital of Lyons, the eighth and the ninth part.

O thou! who deſcending from the firſt throne of Europe, haſt viſited the principal countries of it with the thirſt of knowlege, and undoubtedly with the deſire of labouring for the good of thine own country; tell us, how great was thy horror when thou didſt ſee in one of our hoſpitals, ſeven or eight ſick perſons heaped together in the ſame bed, all maladies blended together, all the principles and degrees of life and death confounded; one wretch crying out with acute pain, by the ſide of another who was breathing his laſt; the dying man lain by the ſide of the dead one, and all of them reciprocally infecting and curſing each other. Say, why didſt thou not repreſent this picture to the imagination of thy young and compaſſionate ſiſter, our ſovereign? No doubt, ſhe would have been affected with it; her compaſſion would have been communicated to her huſband, and her tears would have interceded for theſe miſerable wretches. How noble a uſe would this have been making of beauty!

The preſervation therefore of mankind, the watching over their days, and the removing from them the horrors of miſery, is a ſcience ſo little underſtood by government, that even the eſtabliſhments

liſhments they ſeem to have made with a view of fulfilling theſe objects, produce an oppoſite effect. Aſtoniſhing perverſion of mind, which ought not to be forgotten by any one of our philoſophers, who ſhall write the immenſe treatiſe on the barbariſm of civilized nations.

Some men, devoid of feeling, have aſſerted, that in order to diminiſh the number, already too great, of idle, negligent, and vicious people, it was neceſſary that the poor and the ſick ſhould not be well treated in the hoſpitals. And indeed it cannot be denied, but that this barbarous expedient hath been purſued to it's utmoſt extent; nevertheleſs, what are the effects produced by it? Several men have been deſtroyed, while no one hath been corrected.

Laziness and debauchery may poſſibly be encouraged in hoſpitals; but if this defect be inherent in theſe eſtabliſhments, it muſt be borne with. If it can be corrected, we muſt endeavour to do it. Let hoſpitals ſubſiſt, but let us all exert ourſelves by diffuſing general competency, in diminiſhing the multitude of thoſe unfortunate people who are compelled to ſeek an aſylum in them. Let them be employed in charitable houſes, in ſedentary labours; let lazineſs be puniſhed there, but let induſtry be rewarded.

With regard to the ſick, let them be taken care of, as men ought to be by men. Their country owes them this relief from motives of juſtice or of intereſt. If they be old, they have ſerved mankind, they have brought other citizens into the world; if they be young, they may ſerve

mankind

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mankind again, they may be the ſource of a new generation. In a word, when they are once admitted into thoſe charitable aſylums, let hoſpitality be exerciſed in it's full extent. Let there be no more mean avarice, no murderous calculations. They ought to find there all the comforts they would find in their own families, if their own families were capable of receiving them.

This plan is not impracticable, it will not even be expenſive, when better laws, when a more vigilant, a more enlightened, and eſpecially a more humane adminiſtration, ſhall preſide over theſe eſtabliſhments. The experiment hath been juſt made with ſucceſs, under our own immediate inſpection, by the care of Madame Necker. While this lady's huſband is employing himſelf upon a larger ſcale, in diminiſhing the number of unfortunate people, ſhe enters into the details which can alleviate the diſtreſſes of thoſe who are already unfortunate. She hath juſt eſtabliſhed in the ſuburb of St. Germain, an hoſpital, where ſick people, who have each a bed to themſelves, and are attended in the ſame manner as they would be at the houſe of the moſt affectionate mother, coſt one-third leſs than in any of the hoſpitals at Paris. Foreigners, who are become members of the nation, by the moſt meritorious of all naturaliſations, by the good you do to it; Generous pair, I venture to name you, although you are ſtill alive, although you are ſurrounded with the influence of a high poſt; and I am not apprehenſive of being accuſed of adulation. I think I have given ſufficient proofs, that I can neither

neither fear nor flatter vice in power, and therefore I have acquired the right of rendering public homage to virtue.

Would to heaven, that the happy experiment we have juſt mentioned, might bring on a general reformation in all the hoſpitals founded by the generoſity of our anceſtors! Would to heaven, that ſo fine an eſtabliſhment might ſerve as a model for thoſe, which a principle of ſoft compaſſion, the deſire of expiating the poſſeſſion of wealth, or a benevolent ſyſtem of philoſophy, may one day excite ſucceeding generations to found. This wiſh of my heart extends to the whole univerſe; for my thoughts have no other limits than thoſe of the world, when they are employed about the happineſs of my fellow-creatures. Citizens of the univerſe, unite yourſelves with me; it is your intereſt that is in agitation.

What aſſurances have you, that none of your anceſtors have died in an hoſpital? What aſſurances have you that none of your deſcendants will expire in that retreat provided for miſery? Might not an unexpected misfortune oblige you to take refuge there yourſelves? Let your vows therefore be joined to mine!

Let us now return to our ſubject. According to accounts taken in 1774, the iſland of Cuba reckons one hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight perſons, of whom twenty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix only are ſlaves. The population muſt even be rather more conſiderable, becauſe the well-

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grounded apprehenſion of ſome new tax muſt have prevented accuracy in the declarations.

Few of the arts, except thoſe of primary neceſſity, are found in the iſland. Theſe are in the hands of the Mulattoes, or free Negroes, and are in a very imperfect ſtate. Joiners work only hath been carried on to a remarkable degree of perfection.

Other Mulattoes and blacks are employed in cultivating articles of ſubſiſtence. Theſe conſiſt of ſome fruits of the New World, and ſome vegetables of the Old; of maize, and of manioc, the conſumption of which hath diminiſhed in proportion as the freedom of trade hath lowered the price of the flour brought from Spain or Mexico, and ſometimes alſo from North America: they conſiſt of tolerable good cacao, but in ſo ſmall a quantity, that the inhabitants are obliged to draw annually from Caraccas, or from Guayaquil, more than two thouſand quintals of it. they conſiſt alſo of numerous herds of oxen, and eſpecially of hogs, the fleſh of which hath been hitherto generally preferred, and will always be ſo, unleſs the ſheep, which have lately been brought in the iſland, ſhould make them one day be neglected. All theſe animals wander about in the paſture grounds, each of which is four, or at leaſt two leagues in extent. Some mules and horſes are likewiſe ſeen to graze there, which ought to be ſtill more multiplied, becauſe their preſent number doth not prevent the inhabitants from purchaſing a great quantity from the continent.

The

THE articles deſtined for exportation employ moſt of the ſlaves. From 1748 to 1753, the labour of theſe unfortunate people did not produce annually to the mother-country, more than eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty quintals of tobacco, the value of which in Europe was 1,293,570 livres *; one hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand eight hundred quintals of ſugar, the value of which was 7,994,786 livres †; fifteen hundred and ſixty-nine hides, the value of which was 138,817 livres ‡; and 1,064,505 livres ‖ in gold and ſilver. Of this ſum, amounting to 10,491,678 livres §, the tobacco alone was the property of government, all the reſt belonged to trade.

SINCE that period the labours have much increaſed; they have not, however, been turned towards the culture of indigo and of cotton, although theſe grow naturally in the iſland.

THE culture of coffee, which hath been lately undertaken, hath not made any conſiderable progreſs, nor will it increaſe. Spain conſumes but a ſmall quantity of that production, and the European marts are and will be for a long time overſtocked with it. There is more to be expected from the wax.

WHEN Florida was ceded in 1763, by the court of Madrid to that of London, the five or ſix hundred miſerable people who lived in that

* 53,898 l. 15 s.
† 333,116 l. 11 s. 8 d.
‡ 5,784 l. 0 s. 10 d.
‖ 44,354 l. 7 s. 6 d.
§ 437,153 l. 5 s.

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iſland, took refuge at Cuba, and carried ſome bees along with them. Theſe uſeful inſects flew to the foreſts, fixed themſelves in the hollow of old trees, and multiplied with a degree of celerity that ſeems incredible. The colony, which 'till then had bought a great deal of wax for their religious ſolemnities, was ſoon able to collect a ſufficient quantity for this pious uſe, and for other conſumptions. They had ſome overplus in 1770; and ſeven years afterwards they exported ſeven thouſand one hundred and fifty quintals and a half of it, for Europe and for America. This production muſt neceſſarily increaſe, under a ſky, and on a ſoil which are equally favourable to it; in an iſland where the hives yield four times in every year, and where the ſwarms ſucceed each other without interruption.

Tobacco is one of the moſt important productions of Cuba. Each crop furniſhes about fifty-five thouſand quintals. Part of this is conſumed in the country, or fraudulently carried out of it. The government purchaſe annually, for their dominions in the Old and in the New World, where they equally monopolize it, forty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty quintals, the price of which varies according to it's quality, but which coſt, one with another, 48 livres 12 ſols * the hundred weight. So that the king pours annually into the iſland 2,272,050 livres † for this production.

The progreſs made in the culture of tobacco hath been lately ſtopped at Cuba. This plant

* 2l. 0s. 6d. † 94,668l. 15s.

hath

hath even been rooted up in ſome places where it did not thrive ſo well. The miniſtry did not chuſe that the crops ſhould exceed the demands of the monarchy. They were certainly apprehenſive that foreigners, who might have purchaſed this production in the leaf, would introduce it clandeſtinely in their provinces, after having manufactured it. It has been thought that the induſtry of the planters would be more uſefully employed in the culture of ſugar.

This commodity was little know'n before the diſcovery of the New World. It is gradually become the object of an immenſe commerce. The Spaniards were obliged to purchaſe it of their neighbours, 'till at length they thought of planting it at Cuba. The mother-country receives annually from two hundred to two hundred and fifty quintals of it, half of it white, and half raw. It is not as much as it's inhabitants can conſume; but they will not be obliged to have recourſe to foreign markets, when this cultivation ſhall be as firmly eſtabliſhed in the reſt of the iſland, as it already is in the territory of the Havannah.

Before 1765, Cuba did not receive annually more than three or four large ſhips from Cadiz; and thoſe veſſels, which, after having ſold their cargoes upon the coaſts of the continent, came there in order to take up a lading, which they had not been able to find at Vera Cruz, at Honduras, and at Carthagena. The iſland was at that time in want of the moſt neceſſary things, and the inhabitants were compelled to purchaſe

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them of their neighbours, with whom they had formed ſome ſmuggling connections. Since the reſtraints have been diminiſhed, the number of voyages hath multiplied the productions, which have alſo reciprocally extended the navigation.

In 1774, one hundred and one veſſels arrived from Spain in the colony: theſe were laden with flour, wines, brandies, and with every thing requiſite for a large ſettlement; and they carried away from thence all the commodities which a better arrangement of things had produced.

The ſame year Cuba received, upon one hundred and eighteen ſmall veſſels, from Louiſiana, rice, and the proper wood for their ſugar cheſts; from Mexico, flour, vegetables, Morocco leather, and copper; from the other parts of this large continent, oxen, mules, and cacao; and from Porto Rico two thouſand ſlaves, which had been diſtributed among theſe ſhips.

These veſſels of the Old and New World were not allowed to chuſe the ports where it would have been moſt convenient for them to put in. They were obliged to land their cargoes at the Havannah, at Port-au-Prince, at Cuba, and at Trinidad, the only places where cuſtoms were eſtabliſhed. None but fiſhing ſmacks and coaſting veſſels are allowed to frequent all the harbours indiſcriminately.

A man, who at this time does honour to Spain, and who would do honour to any country whatever, Mr. Campo Manes, ſays, that the produce of the cuſtoms, which before 1765, had never exceeded

ceeded 565,963 livres *, amounts at preſent to 1,620,000 livres †; and that the mother-country draws from the colony, in metals, 8,100,000 livres ‡, inſtead of 1,620,000 livres ‖, which it formerly received. This is an argument in favour of a free trade, of the force of which, it were to be wiſhed, that mankind could be made ſenſible.

THE taxes levied at Cuba, or thoſe at leaſt which enter the coffers of the ſtate, do not exceed 2,430,000 livres §, and government circulates in the iſland to the amount of 2,272,050 livres ¶ for tobacco; 1,350,000 livres ** for the maintenance of the fortifications, 2,160,000 livres †† for the uſual garriſons, and 3,780,000 livres ‡‡ for the naval department.

CEDAR woods, proper for ſhip-building, were found all over the colony, though the idea had never occurred of making any uſe of them. At length docks were eſtabliſhed, in 1724, which have ſent out, from that period to the preſent time, fifty-eight veſſels, or frigates. This eſtabliſhment is kept up, notwithſtanding the neceſſity there is of importing the iron and the ropes uſed for thoſe veſſels, articles which the iſland doth not furniſh; and notwithſtanding the cuſtom which hath prevailed ſince 1750, of bringing from the North of Europe the maſts, which were

* 23,581 l. 15 s. 10 d.
† 67,500 l.
‡ 337,500 l.
‖ 67,500 l.
§ 101,250 l.
¶ 94,668 l. 15 s.
** 56,250 l.
†† 90,000 l.
‡‡ 157,500 l.

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formerly obtained, though of inferior quality, from the Gulph of Mexico.

THE ſmall fleet deſtined to clear the coaſts of Spain of ſmugglers or pirates, and which, in the intervals between the cruizing ſeaſons, uſed to remain at Vera Cruz, was ſuppreſſed in 1748. It was become uſeleſs, ſince the government had reſolved to maintain conſtantly at Cuba ſome maritime forces, more or leſs conſiderable. In peace time theſe veſſels carry to the iſlands of Cumana, and to Louiſiana, the funds that are deſtined for the annual neceſſities of thoſe ſeveral ſettlements; they prevent ſmuggling as much as they can; and they cauſe the name of their maſter to be reſpected. In time of war they protect the traders and the territories of their country.

THE Havannah, where theſe ſhips are conſtructed, hath juſt been ſupplied, by the care of the Marquis de la Torre, with ſome conveniences and embelliſhments which had been for a long time deſired in vain. This active governor hath given the inhabitants a playhouſe, decorated with propriety, two delightful walks, convenient barracks, and five very well contrived bridges. Theſe uſeful or agreeable eſtabliſhments have coſt the town no more than 482,066 livres *.

In what conſiſt the fortifications of Cuba. Other means of defence belonging to this iſland.

GOVERNMENT have allotted, for the fortifications with which the town hath been ſurrounded, from 1763 to 1777, 22,413,989 livres, 18 ſols, 6 deniers †. Theſe works have been conſtructed by four thouſand one hundred and ninety-eight

* 20,086l. 1s. 8d. † 933,916l. 4s. 11½d.

blacks,

blacks, by fifteen hundred malefactors ſent from Spain and Mexico, and by the freemen, who have not diſdained this kind of labour.

THE harbour of the Havannah is one of the ſafeſt in the univerſe; the fleets of the whole world might ride at anchor there together. At the entrance of it there are rocks, againſt which the veſſels that ſhould venture to deviate from the middle of the paſs would infallibly be wrecked. It is defended by the Moro and the fort on the point. The former of theſe fortreſſes is raiſed ſo high above the level of the ſea, that even a firſt rate man of war could not batter it. The other hath not the ſame advantage; but it can only be attacked by a very narrow channel, where the warmeſt aſſailants could never withſtand the numerous and formidable artillery of the Moro.

THE Havannah, therefore, can only be attacked on the land ſide. Fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, which are the moſt that could be employed in this ſervice, would not be ſufficient to inveſt the works, which cover a vaſt extent. Their efforts muſt be directed either to the right or left of the port, againſt the town or the Moro. If the latter, they may eaſily land within a league of the fort, and will come within ſight of it, without difficulty, by eaſy roads, through woods which will cover and ſecure their march.

THE firſt difficulty will be that of getting water, which, in the neighbourhood of the camp, the aſſailants muſt chuſe, is mortal. To obtain ſuch as is drinkable, they muſt go in boats to the diſtance of three leagues, and it will be neceſſary to ſend

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a conſiderable force for this purpoſe to the only river where it is to be had, or to leave a detachment there in intrenchments; which being at a diſtance from the camp, without communication or ſupport, will be in perpetual danger of being cut off.

PREVIOUS to the attack of the Moro, the enemy muſt make themſelves maſters of the Cavagna, which hath been lately built. It is a crown-work, compoſed of a baſtion, two curtains, and two demi-baſtions in front. It's right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It hath caſemates, reſervoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb-proof, a good covered way, and a wide ditch cut in the rock. The way which leads to it is compoſed of ſtones and pebbles, without any mixture of earth. The Cavagna is placed on an eminence which commands the Moro, but is itſelf expoſed to attacks from a hill which is of an equal height, and not more than three hundred paces diſtant from it. As it would have been eaſy for an enemy to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards have levelled it, and the Cavagna can now extend it's view and it's batteries to a great diſtance. If the garriſon ſhould find themſelves ſo preſt, as not to be able to maintain this poſt, they would blow up the works, which are all undermined, and retreat into the Moro, the communication with which cannot poſſibly be cut off.

THE famous fortreſs of the Moro had towards the ſea, on which ſide it is impregnable, two baſtions; and on the land ſide two others, with a wide

wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. Since it was taken, it hath been entirely rebuilt, and it's parapets made higher and thicker. A good covered way hath been added, and every thing that was wanting to ſecure the garriſon and the ſtores. It is not eaſier to open trenches before this place than the Cavagna. Both of them are built with a ſoft ſtone, which will be leſs dangerous to the defenders than the common ſort of free-ſtone.

INDEPENDENT of theſe advantages, the two fortreſſes have in their favour a climate extremely hazardous to beſiegers, and an eaſy communication with the town for receiving all ſorts of proviſions, without a poſſibility of being intercepted. Thus circumſtanced, theſe two places may be conſidered as impregnable, at leaſt as very difficult to be taken, provided they be properly ſtocked with proviſions, and defended with courage and ability. The preſervation of them is of ſo much greater importance, as their loſs would neceſſarily occaſion the ſurrender of the harbour and town, which are both of them commanded, and may be battered from theſe eminences.

AFTER having explained the difficulties of taking the Havannah by attacking the Moro, we muſt next ſpeak of thoſe which muſt be encountered on the ſide of the town.

IT is ſituated near the bottom of the harbour. It was defended, as well towards the harbour as towards the country, by a dry wall, which was good for nothing, and twenty-one baſtions, which were not much better. It had a dry ditch, and of little depth.

depth. Before this ditch was a kind of covered way, almoſt in ruins. The place, in this ſtate, could not have reſiſted a ſudden attempt, which had it been made in the night, and ſupported by ſeveral attacks, true or falſe, would certainly have carried it. Wide and deep ditches have been made, and an exceeding good covered way added.

These defences are ſupported by the fort at the point; which is a ſquare, built of ſtone, and, though ſmall, is provided with caſemates. It hath been rebuilt, having been very much damaged during the ſiege. There is a good dry ditch round it, digged out of the rock. Independent of it's principal deſtination, which is to co-operate with the Moro in defending the port, and for which it is perfectly well calculated; it hath ſeveral batteries which open upon the country, and flank ſome parts of the town wall.

It's fire croſſes that of a fort of four baſtions, which hath a ditch, covered way, powder magazine, caſemates, and reſervoirs of water. This new fortification, which is erected at three quarters of a mile from the place, on an eminence called Aroſteguy, will require a ſiege in form, if the town is to be attacked on that ſide, particularly as it is ſo conſtructed as to have a view of the ſea, to command a conſiderable tract on the land ſide, and to diſturb an enemy exceedingly in getting water, which they muſt fetch from it's neighbourhood.

In ſkirting the city onward, we come to the fort of Atarès, which has been conſtructed ſince the ſiege.

ſiege. It is of ſtone, hath four baſtions, a covered way, a half-moon before the gate, a wide ditch, a good rampart, reſervoirs, caſemates, and a powder magazine. It is barely three quarters of a league diſtant from the town, and is ſituated on the other ſide of a river and an impracticable moraſs, which cover it in that direction. The riſing ground upon which it is built, is entirely occupied by it, and has been inſulated by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the ſea hath a paſſage from the bottom of the harbour. Beſides it's commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the iſland, it defends the circuit of the place by croſſing it's fires with thoſe of Aroſteguy. The Spaniards have conſtructed a large redoubt in the interval of theſe two forts, which is an additional protection to the town. The Atarès alſo croſſes it's fire with that of the Moro, which is very high, and ſituated at the extreme point of the fort.

If it were allowable to form an opinion upon a ſubject, which we do not profeſſionally underſtand, we might venture to aſſert, that thoſe who would undertake the ſiege of the Havannah, ſhould begin by the Cavagna and the Moro; becauſe, theſe forts once taken, the town muſt of courſe ſurrender, or be deſtroyed by the artillery of the Moro. On the contrary, if they ſhould determine for the town ſide, the beſiegers would ſcarcely find themſelves in a better condition, even after they had taken it. Indeed, they would have it in their power to deſtroy the dock-yards, and the ſhips that might happen to be in the harbour; but

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but this would produce no permanent advantage. In order to eſtabliſh themſelves, they muſt ſtill be obliged to take the Cavagna and the Moro, which in all probability they would find impoſſible, after the loſs they muſt have ſuſtained in the attack of the town and it's fortreſſes.

But whatever plan may be purſued in the ſiege of this place, the aſſailants will not only have to combat the numerous garriſon incloſed within it's works; there will be a corps likewiſe of twelve thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-two militia, who have been accuſtomed to manœuvre in a ſurpriſing manner, who would take the field, and continually interrupt their operations. Theſe troops armed, clothed, and accoutred at the expence of the government, and paid in time of war upon the footing of regulars, are trained and commanded by non-commiſſioned officers ſent from Europe, and choſen from the moſt diſtinguiſhed regiments. The forming of this militia hath coſt an immenſe ſum. The court of Spain is in expectation of future events, to form a judgment of the utility of theſe expences. But whatever may be the military ſpirit of theſe troops, we may pronounce beforehand, that this eſtabliſhment, in a political view, is inexcuſable; and for the following reaſons:

The project of making ſoldiers of all the coloniſts of Cuba, a moſt unjuſt and deſtructive project to all colonies, has been purſued with uncommon ardour. The violence they have been forced to uſe with the inhabitants, to make them ſubmit to exerciſes which they were averſe from, has produced

produced no other effects than that of increasing their natural love of repose. They detest those mechanical and forced movements, which, not contributing in any respect to their happiness, appear doubly insupportable; not to mention their seeming frightful or ridiculous to a people, who probably think they have no interest in defending a government by which they are oppressed. The rage of keeping up an army; that madness, which, under pretence of preventing wars, encourages them; which, by introducing despotism into governments, paves the way for rebellion among the people; which continually dragging the inhabitant from his dwelling, and the husbandman from his field, extinguishes in them the love of their country, by driving them from their home; which subverts nations, and carries them over land and sea: that mercenary profession of war, so different from the truly military spirit, sooner or later will be the ruin of Europe; but much sooner of the colonies, and, perhaps, first of all, of those which belong to Spain.

Hath Spain taken proper measures to render this island useful, and doth she still pursue them?

The most extensive and most fertile part of the American Archipelago is possessed by the Spaniards. These islands, in the hands of an industrious nation, would have proved a source of unbounded wealth. In their present state, they are vast forests, exhibiting only a frightful solitude. Far from contributing to the strength and riches of the kingdom they belong to, they serve only to weaken and to exhaust it by the expences required to maintain them. If Spain had attended properly to the political improvements of other nations,

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tions, ſhe would have diſcovered, that ſeveral of them owed their influence ſolely to the advantages they have draw'n from iſlands, in every reſpect inferior to thoſe which have hitherto only ſerved the ignominious purpoſe of ſwelling the liſt of the numberleſs and uſeleſs poſſeſſions of the Spaniſh crown. She would have learned, that there is no other rational foundation of colonies, eſpecially of thoſe which have no mines, but agriculture.

It is not doing juſtice to the Spaniards to ſuppoſe, that they are naturally incapable of labour. If we give the leaſt attention to the exceſſive fatigues which thoſe of them who are concerned in contraband trade ſubmit to with the utmoſt patience, we ſhall find that their toils are infinitely more grievous than any that attend the management of a plantation. If they neglect to enrich themſelves by agriculture, it is the fault of their government. Alas! might the diſintereſted hiſtorian, who neither ſeeks nor deſires any thing but the general good of mankind, be permitted to furniſh them with thoſe ſentiments and expreſſions, which the habit of ſloth, the rigour of government, and prejudices of every kind ſeem to have precluded them from the uſe of, thus would he in their name addreſs the court of Madrid, and the whole Spaniſh nation:

"Reflect on the ſacrifices we require from "you, and ſee, if you will not reap a centuple "advantage by the valuable commodities we "ſhall ſupply to your now expiring commerce. "Your navy, increaſed by our labours, will form

"the

"the only bulwark that can preſerve to you thoſe poſſeſſions, which are now ready to eſcape from your hands. As we become more rich, our conſumption will be greater; and then the country, which you inhabit, and which droops with you, though Nature herſelf invites it to fertility; thoſe plains, which preſent to your eyes only a deſart ſpace, and are a diſgrace to your laws and to your manners, will be converted into fields of plenty. Your native land will flouriſh by induſtry and agriculture, which have now forſaken you. The ſprings of life and activity, which ye will have conveyed to us through the channel of the ſea, will flow back, and encompaſs your dwellings with rivers of plenty. But if ye prove inſenſible to our complaints and misfortunes: if ye do not govern us for our ſakes: if we be only the victims of our loyalty; recall to your minds that ever celebrated æra, in which a nation of unfortunate and diſcontented ſubjects ſhook off the yoke of your dominion; and by their labours, their ſucceſs, and their opulence, juſtified their revolt in the eyes of the whole world. They have been free for near two centuries; and ſhall we ſtill have to lament, that we are governed by you? When Holland broke in pieces the rod of iron, which cruſhed her; when ſhe roſe from the depth of the waters to rule over the ſea; heaven, without doubt, raiſed her up as a monument of freedom, to point out to the nations of the world the path of happineſs,

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"pineſs, and to intimidate faithleſs kings who "would exclude them from it."

It might be ſuſpected that the court of Madrid have diſcovered, that it would be poſſible to paſs this cenſure upon them. In 1735, their miniſtry ſuggeſted a company for Cuba. Twenty years after they conceived the idea of a new monopoly for St. Domingo and for Porto-Rico. The ſociety which was to clear theſe deſerts, was eſtabliſhed at Barcelona, with a capital of 1,785,000 livres *, divided into ſhares, of the value of a hundred piſtoles each †. This company never paid any intereſt to it's members; they made no dividend; they obtained the important permiſſion of fitting out ſeveral veſſels for the Honduras. Notwithſtanding this, on the 30th of April 1771, their debts, including their capital, amounted to 3,121,692 livres ‡, and they had no more than 3,775,540 livres §. So that in the courſe of fifteen years, with an excluſive privilege, and with very ſignal favour, they had gained no more than 653,848 livres ‖. Their affairs have ſince been in great diſorder, and at preſent they have no degree of activity. They are endeavouring to liquidate their debts, but they cannot diſpoſe of their ſhares even at fifty per cent. loſs.

The miniſtry had not waited for this reverſe of fortune, to judge that they had miſtaken the means they had adopted to render theſe iſlands flouriſhing. From 1765, the adminiſtrators of

* 74,375 l. † 83 l. 15 s. ‡ 130,070 l. 10 s.
§ 157,314 l. 3 s. 4 d. ‖ 27,243 l. 13 s. 4 d.

that

that large empire, were obliged to acknowlege that their poſſeſſions had not acquired the ſmalleſt degree of improvement under the yoke of monopoly. They underſtood that they would never improve under ſuch fatal reſtraints. This conviction determined them to have recourſe to the only principle of proſperity, a free trade; but they had not the courage or the wiſdom to remove the obſtacles which muſt neceſſarily have impeded the happy effects of it.

In the year 1778, theſe prohibitions, reſtraints, and impoſitions, which checked their labours, were partly aboliſhed; but there ſtill remain too many of thoſe oppreſſive ſcourges, to give reaſon to expect much exertion. Were they even totally removed, this would ſtill be only a preliminary ſtep.

All the cultures of the New World require ſome advances; but conſiderable capitals are wanted to make that of ſugar ſucceſsful. Excepting at Cuba, there are not perhaps in the other iſlands five or ſix inhabitants wealthy enough to cultivate this production. If the Spaniſh miniſtry do not beſtow liberally their treaſures upon theſe iſlanders, they will not awake from that long and profound lethargy in which they are plunged. This generoſity would be very practicable in an empire where the public revenue amounts to 140,400,000 livres *, where the expences do not exceed 129,600,000 livres †, and where there remains a balance of 10,800,000 livres ‡, which may be

* 5,850,000 l. † 5,400,000 l. ‡ 450,000 l.

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laid out in improvements. It is true, that without receiving ſuch powerful aſſiſtance from their reſpective governments, other nations have founded flouriſhing colonies; but beſides that they had not been debaſed during the courſe of three centuries, by pride, languor, and poverty, they were alſo in more favourable and different circumſtances.

HAPPY is the man, who is born after the extinction of this long ſeries of errors which have infected his nation! Happy is the nation, that ſhould riſe up in the center of the moſt enlightened nations, if it were prudent enough to profit by the faults which they had committed, and to avail itſelf of the knowlege they had acquired. Such a nation would only have to caſt her eyes about her, in order to diſcern the ſcattered materials that would conſtitute her happineſs, and to attend to the collecting of them. One of the principal advantages which ſhe would owe, either to the novelty of her origin, or to the tardineſs of her labours, or to the long duration of her infant ſtate, would be, that ſhe would be ſpared the trouble of conquering thoſe rooted prejudices, which were the reſult of the inexperience of the firſt legiſlators, which had been conſecrated by time, and which had been maintained againſt reaſon and facts; either from puſillanimity, which is apprehenſive of any innovation; or from pride, which dreads the being obliged to retract; or from a weak veneration for every thing of antient date.

LET the court of Madrid haſten to lay open it's treaſures, and the iſlands ſubject to it's empire

empire will ſoon be covered with productions. Their ſubjects, placed upon an extenſive and virgin ſoil, will not only be diſpenſed from buying at a high price what ſerves for their conſumption; but, in a little time, they will ſupplant in all the markets their maſters in this career. The moſt active, the moſt induſtrious, and the moſt enlightened nations, will have laboured for ages in improving their cultures, their mode of managing them and their manufactures, for the advantage merely of a rival, more favoured by nature than themſelves. But it can ſcarce be expected, that they will ſubmit patiently to ſuch a misfortune.

Would the nations, that have colonies in America, ſuffer the Spaniſh iſlands to become flouriſhing?

SINCE the origin of ſocieties, a fatal jealouſy prevails among them, which muſt, it ſhould ſeem, be perpetual, unleſs by ſome inconceivable revolution, they ſhould be ſeparated from each other by immenſe deſert intervals. Hitherto they have ſhewed themſelves in the ſame light as a citizen in our towns, who ſhould be convinced, that the more his fellow citizens were indigent and weak, the more he would become rich and powerful, and the more he ſhould be able to check their undertakings, to thwart their induſtry, to limit their cultures, and to confine them to what is abſolutely neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence.

BUT it will be urged, that a citizen enjoys his wealth under the protection of the laws. The proſperity of his neighbour may increaſe without inconvenience to his own, but this is not the caſe with nations—and wherefore is it not?—It is becauſe there doth not exiſt any tribunal before

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which they can be ſummoned.—But what need have they of ſuch a tribunal?—Becauſe they are unjuſt and puſillanimous.—And what advantage do they derive from their injuſtice and puſillanimity?—Perpetual wars, and miſery which is inceſſantly renewed.——And can it be ſuppoſed, that experience will not correct them?—We are perfectly convinced of it,—and for what reaſon?—Becauſe one madman is ſufficient to diſconcert the wiſdom of all other powers, and there will always be more than one at a time upon the ſeveral thrones of the univerſe.

Nevertheless, we hear on every ſide the nations, and eſpecially thoſe that are commercial, crying out for peace, while they ſtill continue to conduct themſelves towards one another, in a manner that excludes them from ever obtaining that bleſſing. They will all aſpire to happineſs, and each of them would enjoy it alone. They will all equally hold tyranny in deteſtation, and they will all exerciſe it upon their neighbours. They will all conſider the idea of univerſal monarchy as extravagant, and yet they will moſt of them act as if they had either attained it, or were threatened with it.

Could I expect any good to reſult from my diſcourſe, I would addreſs myſelf to the moſt turbulent, and the moſt ambitious among the nations, in the following terms:

"Let us ſuppoſe, that you have at length "acquired a ſufficient degree of authority among "the nations, to reduce them to that ſtate of de- "gradation and poverty that is ſuitable to you,

" what can you expect from this deſpotiſm? For
" how long a time, and at what price will you
" maintain it; and what advantages will accrue
" to you from it?—Do you expect that ſecurity,
" with which one is always ſufficiently rich, and
" without which, one is never ſufficiently ſo?——
" And can you really think yourſelf not ſuffi-
" ciently ſecure? You know, as well as I do,
" that the times of invaſion are paſt, and it is
" thus you diſguiſe an inordinate ambition, un-
" der the maſk of a ridiculous phantom. You
" prefer the vain ſplendour of this ambition to
" the enjoyment of real happineſs, which you
" loſe in order to deprive others of it. What
" right have you to preſcribe limits to their
" happineſs, you who pretend to extend your's
" beyond all bounds? You are an unjuſt people,
" while you attribute to yourſelf the excluſive
" right of proſperity. You are a people erro-
" neous in your calculations, when you hope
" to enrich yourſelves by reducing others to po-
" verty. You are ſtill a blind people, if you do
" not conceive that the power of a nation which
" raiſes itſelf upon the ruins of all thoſe that ſur-
" round it, is a Coloſſus of clay, which aſtoniſhes
" for a moment, but which crumbles into duſt."

I SHOULD afterwards ſay to the Spaniſh miniſtry: " All the ſtates of Europe are intereſted
" in the proſperity of your continent in the New
" World, becauſe the more theſe vaſt ſtates ſhall
" be flouriſhing, the more will their merchan-
" dize and their manufactures find advantageous
" marts; but this is not the caſe with the iſlands.

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" The powers that have appropriated to themſelves the fertility of ſome of them, are ſufficient " to provide for their preſent wants, and a new " competitor would ſtrongly excite their jealouſy. " They would attack this competitor either together or ſeparately, would not lay aſide their " arms without having obliged him to give up " the clearing of the lands, perhaps, even not " without having made him experience ſtill " greater evils. It is your's to judge, whether " theſe views be falſe, or whether your ſtrength " and your courage will allow you to bid defiance to ſuch a combination." The Dutch colonies will never have any thing of this kind to fear.

Political ſteps taken by the republic of the united provinces at it's firſt riſe.

BEFORE the diſcovery of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, of the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and particularly before that of America, the European nations ſcarcely knew, or viſited each other, except in making barbarous incurſions, the aim of which was plunder, and the conſequence deſtruction. Excepting a ſmall number of tyrants, who, by oppreſſing the weak, found means to ſupport a luxury dearly purchaſed, all the inhabitants of the different ſtates were obliged to content themſelves with the meagre ſubſiſtence furniſhed them by lands ill cultivated, and a trade which extended only to the frontiers of each province. Thoſe great events towards the end of the fifteenth century, which form one of the moſt brilliant epochas of the hiſtory of the world, did not produce ſo ſudden a change of manners as might naturally be ſuppoſed. Some

of

of the Hanſe towns and ſome Italian republics, it is true, ventured as far as Cadiz and Liſbon, which were become great marts, to purchaſe the rare and valuable productions of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; but the conſumpion was very ſmall, through the inability of the ſeveral nations to pay for them. Moſt of them were languiſhing in a ſtate of abſolute lethargy; they were totally ignorant of the advantages and reſources of the countries that belonged to them.

To rouze them from this ſtate of inſenſibility, there was wanting a people, who, ſpringing from nothing, ſhould inſpire every mind with activity and intelligence, and diffuſe plenty through every market; that ſhould offer the produce of all countries at a lower price, and exchange the ſuperfluities of every nation for thoſe commodities which they want; that ſhould give a quick circulation to produce merchandize and money; and, by facilitating and increaſing conſumption, ſhould encourage population, agriculture, and every branch of induſtry. For all theſe advantages, Europe is indebted to the Dutch. The blind multitude may be excuſed in confining themſelves to the enjoyment of their proſperity, without knowing the ſources of it; but it is incumbent on the philoſopher and the politician to tranſmit to poſterity the fame of the benefactors of mankind; and to trace out, if it be poſſible, the progreſs of their beneficence.

When the generous inhabitants of the United Provinces freed themſelves from the dominion of the ſea and of tyranny, they perceived that they could

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could not fix the foundation of their liberty on a ſoil which did not afford even the neceſſaries of life. They were convinced, that commerce, which to moſt nations is no more than an acceſſion, a means only of increaſing the quantity and value of the produce of their reſpective countries, was to them the ſole baſis of their exiſtence. Without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to thoſe of other na- ſatisfied that their own would be the reſult of the general proſperity. The event juſtified their policy.

THEIR firſt ſtep eſtabliſhed, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north with thoſe of the ſouth. In a ſhort time the ſea was covered with the ſhips of Holland. In her ports were collected all the commercial effects of different countries, and from thence they were diſperſed to their reſpective deſtinations. Here the value of every thing was regulated, and with a moderation which precluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater ſtability and extent to her enterpriſes, excited in the republic a ſpirit of conqueſt. Her empire extended itſelf over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the iſlands of conſequence in the ſea that encompaſſes it. By her fortreſſes or her fleets, ſhe kept in ſubjection the coaſts of Africa,[1] towards which her ambition, ever directed to uſeful objects, had turned it's attentive and prudent views. Her laws were acknowleged only in thoſe countries of America, where cultivation had ſowed the ſeeds of real wealth. The immenſe chain of her

her connections embraced the universe, of which, by toil and industry, she became the soul. In a word, she had attained the universal monarchy of commerce.

Such was the state of the United Provinces in 1661, when the Portugueze, recovering themselves from that languor and inaction which the tyranny of Spain had throw'n them into, found means to repossess themselves of that part of Brasil which the Dutch had taken from them. From this first stroke, that republic would have lost all footing in the New World, had it not been for a few small islands; particularly that of Curassou, which they had taken in 1634 from the Castilians, who had been in possession of it ever since 1527.

Description of the Dutch island of Curassou.

This rock, which is not above three leagues off the coast of Venezuela, is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but the entrance is difficult. The bason is extremely large, and convenient in every respect; and it is defended by a fort skilfully constructed, and always kept in good repair.

The French, in 1673, having previously bribed the commandant, landed there to the number of five or six hundred men: but the treason having been discovered, and the traitor punished, they were received by his successor in a very different manner from what they expected, and reimbarked with the disgrace of having exposed only their own weakness, and the iniquity of their measures.

Lewis the XIVth, whose pride was hurt by this imprudent check, sent out d'Estrées five years after

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after with eighteen ſhips of war, and twelve buccaneering veſſels, to wipe off the ſtain, which in his eyes tarniſhed the glory of a reign filled with wonders. The admiral was not far from the place of his deſtination, when by his raſhneſs and obſtinacy he ran his ſhips aground on Davis's iſland; and, after collecting the ſhattered remains of his fleet, returned in very bad condition to Breſt, without having attempted any thing.

FROM this period neither Curaſſou, nor the little iſlands Aruba and Bonaire, which are dependent on it, have met with any diſturbance. No nation has thought of ſeizing upon a barren ſpot, where they could find only a few cattle, ſome manioc, ſome vegetables proper to feed ſlaves, and not one article for commerce. St. Euſtatia is of ſtill leſs conſequence.

Deſcription of the Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatia.

THIS iſland, which is only five leagues in length and one in breadth, is formed by two mountains, with a narrow vale between them. The eaſtern mountain bears evident traces of an antient volcano, and is hollowed almoſt to the level of the ſea. The borders of this gulph, which hath the figure of an inverted cone, are compoſed of rocks calcined by the fire they muſt have experienced. However plentiful the rains may be, there is never any collection of water in this crater. It is carried off undoubtedly through the channels of the volcano that ſtill remain open, and may one day, perhaps, contribute to the rekindling of it, if it's focus be not extinguiſhed or at too great a diſtance.

SOME

Some Frenchmen, who had been driven from St. Chriſtopher's, took refuge in 1629, in this almoſt uninhabitable place, and abandoned it ſome time after; perhaps becauſe there was no freſh water, but what they got from rain collected in ciſterns. The exact time of their quitting it is not know'n; but it is certain, that in 1639 the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of it. They were afterwards driven out by the Engliſh, and theſe by Lewis the XIVth, who cauſed his right of conqueſt to be recognized in the negociation of Breda, and would not liſten to the repreſentations of the republic, with which he was then in alliance, and which preſſed ſtrongly for the reſtitution of this iſland, as having been in poſſeſſion of it before the war. When the ſigning of the peace had put an end to theſe repreſentations, the French monarch, whoſe pride more readily ſubmitted to the dictates of generoſity than of juſtice, thought it not conſiſtent with his dignity to take advantage of the misfortunes of his friends. He of his own accord reſtored to the Dutch their iſland, although he knew that it was a natural fortreſs, which might be of ſervice in defending that part of St. Chriſtopher's which belonged to him.

These republicans before their diſaſter, cultivated only tobacco upon this territory. Since their re-eſtabliſhment, they have planted in the places that were ſuſceptible of this kind of culture, a few ſugar canes, from which they have only received annually, eight or nine hundred thouſand weight of raw ſugar.

Soon

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Description of the Dutch island of Saba.

Soon after this, the colony ſent ſome of it's inhabitants to a neighbouring iſland, know'n by the name of Saba. This is a ſteep rock, on the ſummit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains which do not lie any time on the ſoil, give growth to plants of an exquiſite flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary ſize. Fifty European families, with about one hundred and fifty ſlaves, here raiſe cotton, ſpin it, make ſtockings of it, and ſell them to other colonies for as much as ten crowns * a pair. Throughout America there is no blood ſo pure as that of Saba; the women there preſerve a freſhneſs of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbee iſlands. Happy colony! elevated on the top of a rock, between the ſky and ſea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their ſtorms; it breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a ſimple commodity, from which it derives eaſe, without the temptation of riches: is employed in labours leſs troubleſome than uſeful, and poſſeſſes in peace all the bleſſings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace, from whence the philoſopher may contemplate at leiſure the errors and paſſions of men, who come, like the waves of the ſea, to ſtrike and daſh themſelves on the rich coaſts of America, the ſpoils and poſſeſſion of which they are perpetually contending for, and wreſting from each other: hence may he view at a diſtance the nations of

* 11. 5s.

Europe

Europe bearing thunder in the midſt of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics; devouring gold without ever being ſatisfied; wading through ſeas of blood to amaſs thoſe metals, thoſe pearls, thoſe diamonds, which are uſed to adorn the oppreſſors of mankind; loading innumerable ſhips with thoſe precious caſks, which furniſh luxury with purple, and from which flow pleaſures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this maſs of follies, and ſpins his cotton in peace.

Deſcription of the iſland of St. Martin, part of which belongs to the Dutch, and part to the French.

UNDER the ſame climate lies the iſland of St. Martin, which hath ſeventeen or eighteen leagues in circumference, but leſs territory than might be expected from ſuch dimenſions, becauſe it's bays are deep and numerous. The ocean hath formed, by puſhing the ſands from one cape to the other, ſeveral lakes, more or leſs extenſive, and moſt of them abounding in fiſh. The inland part of the country is filled with high mountains, which extend almoſt every where as far as the ſea. They were covered with valuable trees, before they were ſtripped of that ornament, to make room for cultures, which they were found to be better adapted to than the plains and the vallies. The ſoil is generally light, ſtony, too much expoſed to frequent droughts, and not very fertile; but the ſky is pure, and the climate remarkably healthy. The navigation is ſafe and eaſy in theſe latitudes, and the multiplicity and excellence of the anchoring places that are found there,

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there, occaſions the want of harbours to be leſs ſenſibly felt.

THE Dutch and French landed, in 1638, in this deſert iſland, the firſt to the South, and the latter towards the North. They lived there in peace, but ſeparate from each other; when the Spaniards, who were at open war with both nations, atttacked them, beat them, made them priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of the place themſelves: but the conquerors ſoon grew weary of an eſtabliſhment, the preſervation of which was very expenſive, and from which they did not derive the leaſt advantage. They therefore quitted it in 1648, after having deſtroyed every thing they could not carry with them.

THESE devaſtations did not hinder the former poſſeſſors from ſending ſome vagabonds to the iſland, as ſoon as they knew that it was evacuated. Theſe coloniſts ſwore a mutual faith to each other; and their deſcendants have been faithful to this engagement, notwithſtanding the animoſities that have ſo often diſunited the two mother-countries. But the diviſion of the territory, originally too unequal, hath been more equitably adjuſted. Of ten thouſand one hundred and eighty ſquares of ground, comprehending each two thouſand five hundred ſquare toiſes, which the iſland contains, the French poſſeſs no more than five thouſand nine hundred and four; and the Dutch have ſucceeded in appropriating to themſelves four thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſix.

The culture of tobacco was the firſt which the ſubjects of the court of Verſailles undertook at St. Martin. They abandoned it for indigo, which was ſucceeded by cotton, to which ſugar hath been added, ſince foreigners have been permited, from the year 1769, to ſettle in this iſland. It reckons at preſent nineteen plantations, which yield annually one million weight of raw ſugar, of a beautiful white colour, but of little conſiſtence; and a ſtill greater number of dwellings, which produce two hundred thouſand weight of cotton. Theſe labours are managed by fourſcore families, thirty-two of which are French, and the reſt Engliſh, and which form together a population of three hundred and fifty-one white perſons, of every age and ſex. They have but twelve thouſand ſlaves. This is too little for the extent of the cultures: but the coloniſts of the Dutch part, who were proprietors of the beſt lands in the French part, have adopted the cuſtom of ſending their Negroes to the North, when the labours on the South are at an end. Before 1763, there had not been any regular ſyſtem of authority in this feeble and miſerable ſettlement. At this period a governor was given to it, who hath not yet attracted any trade from any other country. The French always go in queſt of what they want to their neighbour, and always deliver to him their productions.

The Dutch colony is inhabited by ſix hundred and thirty-nine white men, and three thouſand five hundred and eighteen blacks, employed in the cultivation of thirty-two ſugar plantations, which

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which commonly produce ſixteen hundred thouſand weight of ſugar; and in the growth of one hundred and thirty thouſand cotton trees. This revenue, which is too inſufficient, is increaſed by the produce of a ſalt marſh, in the ſeaſons which are not exceſſively rainy. At the morning dawn, ſome ſoldiers embark upon flat-bottomed boats; they collect, during the courſe of the day, the ſalt which floats upon the ſurface of the water; and at night they return to ſhore, in order to begin again the next day this operation, which can only be continued during the months of June, July, and Auguſt. The neighbouring iſlands purchaſe a ſmall quantity of this production, the total value of which may amount to one hundred thouſand crowns *: but it is principally ſent to the provinces of North America, who carry off likewiſe the rum and the ſugar of the colony, while the cotton is delivered to the traders of Great Britain. Nothing, or ſcarce any thing, is left for the active merchants of the republic, and for the following reaſons:

THE ſettlement of St. Martin, although it belong to the Dutch, is not inhabited by Dutchmen. There are ſcarce five or ſix families of that nation to be found there, and thoſe are even almoſt aſhamed of their origin. All the reſt is Engliſh, the people, the language, and the manners. Prejudice hath been carried ſo far, as to induce the women often to go and lay in at Anguilla, a Britiſh iſland, which is only

* 12,500 l.

two

two leagues diſtant, in order that their children may not be deprived of an origin, which is conſidered in the country as the only one that is illuſtrious.

Advantages which the trade of Holland acquires from her iſlands.

The domain of the United Provinces, in the great Archipelago of America, doth not offer any thing, either curious or intereſting, at the firſt aſpect. Poſſeſſions, which ſcarce furniſh a cargo for ſix or ſeven ſmall veſſels, do not appear worthy of any attention. Accordingly, they would be buried in total oblivion, if ſome of theſe iſlands, which are nothing as places for cultivation, were not very conſiderable as commercial iſlands. We mean thoſe of St. Euſtatius and of Curaſſou.

The deſire of forming contraband connections with the Spaniſh provinces of the New World, decided the conqueſt of Curaſſou. A great number of Dutch veſſels ſoon arrived there. They were ſtrong, well armed, and their crews conſiſted of choice men, whoſe bravery was ſupported by powerful motives of intereſt. Each of them had a ſhare, more or leſs conſiderable, in the cargo, which he was determined to defend with his life againſt the attacks of the Guarda Coſtas.

The Spaniards did not always wait for the ſmugglers. They often reſorted of themſelves to a ſtaple, which was conſtantly well ſupplied, in order to barter their gold, their ſilver, their bark, their cacao, their tobacco, their hides, and their cattle, for Negroes, linens, ſilks, Indian ſtuffs, ſpices, quickſilver, and iron or ſteel manufactures. This was a reciprocal connection of wants and of aſſiſtance, of labours and of expeditions,

between two nations, greedy of riches, and rivals of each other.

The ſettlement of the company of Caraccas, and the ſubſtitution of the regiſter ſhips to the galleons, hath much diminiſhed this communication: but the connections which have been formed with the South part of the French colony of St. Domingo, have made up in ſome meaſure for this deficiency. Every thing is revived, when the two crowns are plunged into the horrors of war, either by their own ambition, or by the ambition of their rivals. Even in time of peace, the republic receives annually from Curaſſou, twelve veſſels laden with ſugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and hides, which have been cultivated in a foreign ſoil.

Every commodity, without exception, that is landed at Curaſſou, pays one per cent. port-duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher; but thoſe that are ſhipped from other European ports pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee is ſubject to the ſame tax, in order to promote the ſale of that of Surinam. Every other production of America is ſubject only to a payment of three per cent. but with an expreſs ſtipulation, that they are to be conveyed directly to ſome port of the republic.

St. Eustatia was formerly ſubject to the ſame impoſitions as Curaſſou; and yet it carried on moſt of the trade of Guadaloupe, and of Martinico, during the time that theſe French ſettlements remained under the odious yoke of monopoly. This buſineſs diminiſhed, in proportion as

the proprietors of thoſe iſlands adopted ſound principles of commerce, and extended their navigation. The free port of St. Thomas was even carrying off from the Dutch the ſmall ſhare of trade they had ſtill retained, when in 1756, it was reſolved to aboliſh moſt of the eſtabliſhed taxes. Since this neceſſary alteration, St. Euſtatia, during the diviſions between the miniſters of London and Verſailles, is become the ſtaple of almoſt all the merchandize of the French colonies in the Leeward Iſlands, and the general magazine of ſupply for them. But this great operation was not conducted ſingly by the Dutch; both Engliſh and French united in the harbour of this iſland, to form, under ſhelter of it's neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch paſſport, which coſt leſs than 300 livres *, concealed theſe connections, and was granted, without inquiring of what nation the perſon was who applied for it. This great liberty gave riſe to numberleſs tranſactions, and to ſingular combinations. Thus it is that commerce found the art of pacifying or eluding the vigilance of diſcord.

The end of hoſtilities doth not render St. Euſtatius of leſs importance. It ſtill ſends annually to the United Provinces twenty-five or thirty veſſels, laden with the productions of the Spaniſh and Daniſh, and eſpecially of the French iſlands, which it pays for with the merchandize of the two hemiſpheres, or with bills of exchange upon Europe.

* 12l. 10s.

All theſe tranſactions have brought together, at St. Euſtatius, ſix thouſand white people, of various nations, five hundred Negroes or Mulattoes, and eight thouſand ſlaves. A governor, aſſiſted by a council, without which nothing material can be decided, directs, under the authority of the Weſt India Company, this ſingular ſettlement, as well as thoſe of Saba and St. Martin. He reſides near a very dangerous anchorage, which, however, is the only one of the iſland where the veſſels can land and take in their cargoes. This bad harbour is protected by a ſmall fort, and by a garriſon of fifty men. If it were defended with vigour and ſkill, the moſt daring enemy would, in all probability, fail in attempting a deſcent, which, if even effected, the beſieger would ſtill find an almoſt inſurmountable difficulty to conquer, in aſcending from the lower town, where the magazines are kept, to the upper town, where all the inhabitants are aſſembled in the night-time.

The Dutch, however, equally ingenious in finding out the means of turning to their own advantage both the proſperity and the misfortunes of others, are not entirely confined, in the New World, to the fluctuating profits of a precarious trade. The republic poſſeſſes and cultivates, in the continent, a large territory in the country know'n by the name of Guyana.

Philoſophical conſiderations on Guayana.

This is a vaſt country, waſhed on the Eaſt by the ſea, on the South by the Amazon, on the North by the Oronooko, and on the Weſt by Rio-

Rio-Negro, which joins theſe two rivers, that are the largeſt in South America.

This ſingular iſland preſents three remarkable circumſtances. The ſeveral ſpecies of earth are not here diſpoſed, as they are elſewhere, in layers, but caſually mixed, and without any order. In the correſpondent hills, the ſalient angles of the one are not anſwerable to the re-entering angles of the others. The ſubſtances, which have been generally taken for flints, are nothing more than pieces of lava, that are beginning to be decompounded.

It follows from theſe obſervations, that ſome revolutions have happened in this part of the globe, and that they have been the work of ſubterraneous fires, at preſent extinguiſhed; that the conflagration has been general, becauſe maſſes are every where ſeen, filled with the ſcoriæ of iron; and that calcareous ſtones, which probably have been all calcined, are not to be found in any part; that the exploſion muſt have been very conſiderable, and muſt have levied a great quantity of earth, becauſe volcanoes are only to be found upon the higheſt mountains, and that the only one on which the crater hath been perceived in theſe regions, is raiſed little more than a hundred feet above the level of the ſea.

At the period of theſe great accidents of nature, every thing muſt have been ſubverted. The fields muſt have remained uncovered, alternately expoſed to the action of torrents of rain, or to the effects of exceſſive heat. In this ſtate of revolution, many centuries muſt have elapſed be-

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fore the ſoil can have again become fit to nouriſh the plants, and after them the trees. We might however be liable to miſtake, if we were to compute this change at an exceſſive diſtance. The ſmall quantity of vegetating earth found in Guyana, although ſome be continually formed there by the decompoſition of the trees, would furniſh an unanſwerable argument againſt the idea of a very remote antiquity.

In the inland parts of the country, the ſoil is therefore, and will continue for a long time, ungrateful. The upper lands, that is to ſay, thoſe which are not under water, or marſhy, are for the moſt part nothing more than a confuſed mixture of clay and chalk, where nothing can grow but manioc, yams, potatoes, and ſome other plants, which do not turn round on the ſtem; and even theſe are too frequently rooted in the ſeaſon of heavy rains, becauſe the water cannot be drained off. Even in thoſe lands, which are neceſſarily looked upon as good, the coffee, the cacao, the cotton plants, and all the uſeful trees, laſt but for a very ſhort time, and not ſufficiently to reward the labours of the cultivator. Such is, without exception, the interior part of Guyana.

It's ſhores preſent another ſpectacle. The numerous rivers, which from this vaſt ſpace precipitate themſelves in the ocean, depoſite inceſſantly upon their borders, and upon the whole coaſt, a prodigious quantity of ſeeds, which germinate in the ſlime, and produce, in leſs than ten years, lofty trees, know'n by the name of mangroves. Theſe large vegetables, attached to their baſis

baſis by deep roots, occupy all the ſpace where the tide is perceptible. They form vaſt foreſts, covered with four or five feet of water during flood, and at the time of ebb, with an equal depth of a ſoft and inacceſſible mud.

This ſpectacle, which is perhaps not to be equalled in the univerſe, varies every year upon the coaſt. In the places where ſands are brought and accumulated by the currents, the mangrove periſhes with great rapidity, and the foreſts are carried away by the waves, and diſappear. Theſe revolutions are leſs frequent on the borders of the rivers, where the ſands, brought from the mountains during the ſtorms, are conveyed to a diſtance by the rapidity of the waters.

The revolutions are the ſame upon the coaſt of four hundred leagues, which extends from the Amazon to the Oronooko. There is every where found, upon the ſhore, a line of mangroves, alternately deſtroyed and renewed by the ſlime and by the ſand. Behind this row, at the diſtance of four or five hundred feet, are found ſavannahs, deluged by the rain waters, which have no drain; and theſe ſavannahs are always extended laterally towards the ſhore, to a depth more or leſs conſiderable, according to the diſtance or nearneſs of the mountains.

These immenſe moraſſes have never been paſſed by any thing but reptiles ſince the creation. The genius of man, prevailing over an ungrateful and rebellious ſoil, hath altered their primitive deſtination. It is in the midſt of theſe ſtagnating, infectious, and muddy waters, that

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the ſpirit of liberty hath formed three uſeful ſettlements, the moſt conſiderable of which is Surinam.

Settlement formed by the Dutch in Guyana, upon the river Surinam. Remarkable events which have happened in the colony.

Six years afterwards, there appeared in this forſaken ſpot ſome of thoſe Frenchmen, whom a reſtleſs diſpoſition then hurried into all climates, and whom their volatile turn prevented from ſettling in moſt of them. They maſſacred the natives of the country, began to conſtruct a fort, and diſappeared.

Their retreat brought back, in 1650, the nation that had firſt turned their attention to that ſo long neglected part of the New Hemiſphere. The colony had formed forty or fifty ſugar plantations, when it was attacked and taken by the Dutch, who were ſecured in their conqueſt by the treaty of Breda.

Zealand pretended to have the excluſive right over this uſeful acquiſition, becauſe it had been gained by their troops and their ſhips. The other provinces, who had ſhared the expences of the expedition, inſiſted that it ſhould belong in common to them all. This diſcuſſion had for a long time inflamed the minds of the people, when it was reſolved in 1682, that Surinam ſhould be given up to the Weſt India Company, but upon condition that they ſhould pay 572,000 livres* to the Zealanders; that the trade of the company ſhould be limited to the ſale of ſlaves; and that the country ſhould be open to all the ſubjects, and to all the traders of the republic.

* 23,833 l. 6 s. 8 d.

Although

ALTHOUGH the imagination of this great company was filled with remembrance of their former proſperity, they ſoon comprehended, that the expences required to eſtabliſh cultures throughout an immenſe region were above their exhauſted ſtrength. The year following they ceded one-third of their right to the city of Amſterdam, and one-third to a rich citizen, whoſe name was Van Aarſen, at a price proportioned to what they themſelves paid for it. This extraordinary arrangement laſted 'till 1772, at which period the deſcendants of Van Aarſen ſold their property for 1,540,000 livres *, to the two other members of the aſſociation.

THE company found Surinam plunged into thoſe diſorders which are the neceſſary conſequence of a long ſtate of anarchy. Their repreſentative wanted to eſtabliſh ſome kind of police, ſome kind of juſtice. He was accuſed of tyranny to the States General, and maſſacred in 1688 by the troops.

THE colony was attacked the year following by the French, under the command of Ducaſſe. The ſkill of this chief, and the efforts of the brave adventurers who attended him, were not powerful enough againſt a ſettlement, where the civil and military troubles had cauſed a fermentation in the minds of men, who had juſt been reconciled by a proſpect of imminent danger. Caſſard, a native of St. Malo, was more fortunate in 1712. He laid Surinam under contributions, and

* 64,166l. 13s. 4d.

carried

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carried off to the amount of 1,370,160 livres *, in ſugar, or in bills of exchange. This diſaſter, ſo much more unexpected as it happened at a time when the arms of the republic were triumphant every where elſe, diſtreſſed the planters, who were obliged to give a tenth of their capitals.

The ſociety were accuſed of having neglected the fortifications, and of having employed, to defend them, only a few troops, and thoſe ill-diſciplined. Theſe complaints were ſoon extended to more ſerious objects. The reaſons, or the pretences for diſcontent, were multiplied daily. The States General, wearied with all theſe conteſts, charged the Stadtholder to put an end to them in whatever manner he might think the moſt proper. This firſt magiſtrate had not yet ſucceeded in conciliating the minds of the people, when it became neceſſary to attend to the ſafety of the colony.

Scarce had the Engliſh ſettled on the banks of the Surinam, before ſeveral of their ſlaves took refuge in the inland countries. The deſertion was ſtill more conſiderable under the Dutch dominion, becauſe they required more conſtant labours, becauſe the quantity of ſubſiſtence was diminiſhed, and more ſevere puniſhments were inflicted. Theſe fugitives, in proceſs of time, became numerous enough to form a colony. They uſed to quit their place of refuge in a body, in order to ſupply themſelves with proviſions, arms, and inſtruments of agriculture; and they

* 57,290 l.

brought

brought back with them the Negroes who choſe to go with them. Some attempts were made to put a ſtop to theſe excurſions; but they were fruitleſs, and could not be otherwiſe. Soldiers grow'n effeminate, officers without merit, and without a ſenſe of honour, had an inſurmountable averſion for a war, where deep moraſſes and thick foreſts were to be paſſed, in order to get within reach of a bold and implacable enemy.

The danger became at laſt ſo urgent, that the republic thought proper to ſend, in 1749, in 1772, and in 1774, ſome of their beſt battalions to the aſſiſtance of the colony. All that theſe brave men, arrived from Europe, have been able to accompliſh, after various and bloody engagements, has been to procure ſome kind of tranquillity to the planters, who were before every day in danger of being either ruined or murdered. It hath been neceſſary ſucceſſively to acknowlege the independence of ſeveral numerous hords, but which have no communication with each other, and are ſeparated by conſiderable diſtances. Annual preſents are ſent them, and it hath been ſtipulated that they ſhould enjoy all the advantages of a free trade. Theſe new nations have on their part agreed only to aſſiſt their ally, if it be neceſſary; and to return them every ſlave who ſhall take refuge upon their territory. To give a ſanction to theſe ſeveral treaties, the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties have cauſed an inciſion to be made in their arms. The blood was received in vaſes filled with water and earth. This diſguſting mixture hath been drunk on both ſides,

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ſides, in token of fidelity. If they had refuſed to ſubmit to this extreme humiliating ſtep, theſe oppreſſive maſters would never have obtained a peace from their former ſlaves.

Cauſes of the proſperity of the colony of Surinam.

AFTER ſo many fatal events, the colony is ſtill become more flouriſhing than could have been expected. The cauſes of this ſurpriſing proſperity cannot but be curious and intereſting.

THE firſt Europeans who ſettled in thoſe barbarous regions, eſtabliſhed their cultures at firſt upon heights, which were commonly barren. It was ſoon ſuſpected that their ſaline particles had been detached by the torrents; and that it was from theſe ſucceſſive layers of an excellent ſlime, that the lower grounds had been formed. Some fortunate experiments confirmed this judicious conjecture; and it was determined to take advantage of ſo great a diſcovery. This was not an eaſy undertaking, but the deſire of ſucceſs ſurmounted all obſtacles.

THESE vaſt plains are overflowed by the rivers with which they are watered, but not during the whole year. Even in the ſeaſon of the overflowings, the waters are diffuſed a little before, and a little after the times of high water. During the ebb, the rivers retire gradually, and at low water are ſometimes ſeveral feet below the ſoil, which they covered ſix hours before.

THE drying up of theſe grounds muſt be begun when the rains are not abundant, and when the rivers are low. This ſeaſon begins in Auguſt, and ends in the month of December. During this period, the ſpace which is to be ſecured from inundations

inundations is ſurrounded with a dyke, ſufficient to reſiſt the waters. It is ſeldom neceſſary to raiſe it above three feet high, becauſe it is not uſual to chuſe a territory that is more than two feet under water, to ſettle a plantation upon.

At one of the corners of the dyke, which is made of the earth of the ditch digged for that purpoſe, is an hydraulic machine, entirely open on one ſide, cut on the other in the ſhape of a beak, and furniſhed with a flood-gate, which is opened by the impulſe of the waters from below upwards, and which ſhuts again by its own weight. When the agitation of the ſea ſwells the waves, the rivers preſs upon this flood-gate, and cloſe it ſo effectually, that the waters on the out-ſide cannot get in to it. When, on the contrary, the rivers are low, the internal and rain waters, if there be any, raiſe the gate up, and the waters run off very eaſily.

In the inner part of the dyke, at different diſtances from each other, a few ſlight trenches are made. They all terminate in a ditch, which ſurrounds the plantation. This precaution contributes to raiſe the ſoil, and to carry off any ſuperfluous moiſture that might remain.

The labours of one year are ſufficient to ſurround the territory which is intended to be incloſed. It is ploughed the ſecond year, and might be cultivated at the beginning of the third, if it were not abſolutely neceſſary to leave it for a ſufficient length of time expoſed to the influence of the freſh water, in order to counteract the action of the marine ſalts. This circumſtance neceſſarily

ceſſarily retards the crops more than could be wiſhed; but the abundance of them compenſates for the delay.

The coffee-tree, which is generally planted, in other colonies, upon the ſloping grounds, leaves ſooner or later a void, which cannot be filled up, either by another coffee tree, or by any other plant, becauſe the ſtorms have ſucceſſively deprived this ſoil of every thing that rendered it fertile. This is not the caſe at Surinam. This valuable tree doth not, indeed, preſerve it's vigour more than about twenty years; but the young plants, put between the old ones, and intended to ſucceed them, prevent the planter from being ſenſible of this premature decay. This is the reaſon that the crops are never interrupted. They are even more plentiful than in the other ſettlements.

The diſpoſition of the ſugar plantations, in thoſe ſingular marſhes, have this peculiarity attending them, that the territory is interſected by ſeveral ſmall canals, deſtined for the conveyance of the ſugar-canes. They all terminate in the great canal, which receives the waters when they riſe, by one of it's outlets; and by the other works a mill, when they deſcend. The firſt production in theſe plantations is very indifferent; but it acquires, in proceſs of time, the proper degree of perfection. This may be waited for with leſs impatience in a region where the canes, at their fifth or ſixth crop, yield as much ſugar as is obtained elſewhere from the new-planted canes. One of the principles of this fertility muſt be, the facility

facility with which the planters can ſurround their habitations with water, during the dry ſeaſon. The habitual moiſture which this method keeps up in the grounds, appears preferable to the watering of them, which is practiſed in other parts at a conſiderable expence, and which cannot even be always done every where.

Since the Dutch have ſucceeded in ſubduing the ocean in the New World, as well as in the Old, their cultures have proſpered. They have carried them on twenty leagues beyond the ſea, and given to their plantations an agreeable aſpect and convenience, which are not to be perceived in the moſt flouriſhing poſſeſſions of the Engliſh or French. Spacious and well-contrived buildings, terraces perfectly ſtreight, kitchen-gardens exquiſitely neat, delightful orchards, and walks planted with ſymmetry, ſtrike the eye on all ſides. So many wonders, accompliſhed in leſs than a century, in ſloughs that were originally diſguſting and unwholeſome, cannot be viewed without emotion. But the ſevere eye of reaſon puts a reſtraint on the tranſports excited by this enchanting ſcene. The capitals employed in theſe ſuperfluities would be more wiſely laid out in the multiplication of vendible productions.

One of the means by which labour, and that kind of luxury that hath been introduced, have been chiefly encouraged, has been the extreme facility which the coloniſts have found in getting a capital. They have obtained all the money they could make uſe of, at the rate of five or ſix per cent. but with the expreſs condition, that their

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their plantations ſhould remain mortgaged to their creditor; and that till the ſum was entirely paid off, they ſhould be obliged to give up to him all their productions at the current price in the colony.

Preſent ſtate of the colony of Surinam, and extent of it's deats.

WITH the aſſiſtance of theſe loans, four hundred and thirty plantations have been formed on the banks of the Surinam, of the Commenwine, of the rivers of Cottica and of Perica. In 1775, they yielded twenty-four millions one hundred and twenty thouſand weight of rough ſugar, which was ſold in Holland for 8,333,400 livres *; fifteen millions three hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds weight of coffee, which were ſold for 8,580,934 livres †; nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds weight of cotton, which were ſold for 2,372,255 livres ‡; ſeven hundred and ninety thouſand eight hundred and fifty-four pounds weight of cacao, which were ſold for 616,370 livres ‖; one hundred and fifty-two thouſand eight hundred and forty-four pounds weight of wood for dying, which were ſold for 14,788 livres §. The ſum total of theſe productions, amounted to 19,917,747 livres ¶, and was brought into the harbours of the republic upon ſeventy veſſels. The number of theſe veſſels would have increaſed, if the five hundred and ſixty thouſand gallons of melaſſes, and the hundred and ſixty-ſix gallons of rum, ſent to North America, had been conveyed to Europe; and

* 347,225l.
† 357,538l. 18s. 4d.
‡ 98,843l. 19s. 2d.
‖ 25,682l. 1s. 8d.
§ 616l. 13s. 4d.
¶ 822,905l. 19s. 2d.

they

they will ſtill increaſe, if the tobacco which hath juſt begun to be planted, ſhould thrive as well as is expected.

THE united labours of theſe ſettlements, employed in 1775 ſixty thouſand ſlaves of every age and ſex. They belonged to two thouſand eight hundred and twenty four maſters, excluſive of the women and children. The white people were of ſeveral countries and of different religions.

SUCH is the influence of the ſpirit of trade, that it forces all national and religious prejudices to ſubmit to that general intereſt, which ſhould be the bond of union among mankind. What are thoſe idle nominal diſtinctions of Jews or Chriſtians, French or Dutch? Miſerable inhabitants of a ſpot, which ye cultivate with ſo much toil and ſorrow; are ye not all brethren? Why then do ye drive each other from a world, where ye live but for an inſtant? And what a life too is it, that ye have the folly and cruelty to diſpute with each other the enjoyment of? Is it not ſufficient, that the elements, the heavens, and even the earth, combat againſt you, but ye muſt add to thoſe ſcourges, with which nature hath ſurrounded you, the abuſe of that little ſtrength ſhe has left you to reſiſt them?

PARAMABIRO, the principal place of the colony of Surinam, is a ſmall town pleaſantly ſituated. The houſes are pretty and convenient; though they are only built of wood upon a foundation of European bricks. It's port, which is five leagues diſtant from the ſea, has every requiſite

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quiſite that can be deſired. It is the rendezvous of all the ſhips diſpatched from the mother-country to receive the produce of this colony. The company to which this large ſettlement belongs, is obliged to defray the public expences. The ſovereign hath enabled them to fulfil this obligation, by permitting them to levy ſome taxes, which cannot be increaſed without the conſent of the ſtate and of the inhabitants. A poll-tax of one hundred ſols *, upon every free adult or ſlave; and of ſixty ſols † for every child, was formerly the higheſt of theſe contributions. In 1776, it hath been changed for another leſs degrading, of ſix per cent. upon the productions of the country, upon the profits of trade, and upon the wages of the ſeveral occupations. Nevertheleſs, the payment of two and a half per cent. for the commodities which were exported from the colony, and of one and a half per cent. for thoſe which were imported, hath not been diſcontinued. Theſe taxes united, are ſcarce ſufficient for the great object for which they are deſigned, and there is ſeldom any thing remaining for the benefit of the company.

Beside the taxes levied for the company, there is one which is rather conſiderable, upon the productions of the colony, which the citizens have agreed to eſtabliſh themſelves for their reſpective wants, and eſpecially for the pay of three hundred free negroes, who are employed in protecting the cultures from the incurſions of the fugitive Negroes.

* 4s. 2d. † 2s. 6d.

Notwith-

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe impoſts, and notwithſtanding the obligation of paying the intereſt of 77,000,000 livres *, the colony was in a flouriſhing ſtate, while it's productions had a certain and advantageous mart. But ſince coffee hath loſt in trade one half of it's former price, every thing is fallen into extreme confuſion; the debtor is become inſolvent, hath been driven from his plantation. Even the moſt mercileſs creditor hath not been able to recover his capital, and they have both been ruined. Men have become ſtill more exaſperated againſt each other, their minds have been depreſſed, and it is difficult to foreſee at what period concord and induſtry will revive. Let us examine what hath been the fate of Berbice, during this fatal criſis.

Foundation of the colony of Berbice. It's paſt misfortunes and it's preſent miſery.

THIS ſettlement bounded on the eaſt by the river Corentin, and on the weſt by the territory of Demerary, extends no more than ten leagues along the coaſt. In the inland part of the country it might reach as far as that part of the Cordeleras, know'n by the name of the Blue Mountains. The great river from which it hath derived it's name, being choaked up at it's mouth by a bank of mud and ſand, hath at firſt no more than fourteen or fifteen feet in depth; but it ſoon acquires forty, and it's navigation is eaſy as far as thirty-ſix leagues from the ſea, which is the utmoſt extent of the moſt diſtant plantations.

THE foundations of this colony were laid in 1626. As it was formed in a diſtrict included

* 3,208,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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in the grant given to the Weſt India company, that body, which was at that time powerful, and ſtrongly protected, reſerved to themſelves ſome privileges, and more eſpecially the excluſive ſale of ſlaves. The culture of ſugar and arnotto, which were the only articles attended to, had not made any conſiderable progreſs; when, in 1689, ſome French adventurers ravaged the country, and did not leave it till they had extorted the promiſe of 44,000 livres *, which were never paid. Some Frenchmen invaded the colonies again in 1712. In order to eſcape pillage, and to get rid of theſe foreigners, the inhabitants engaged to give them 660,000 livres †. The Negroes, the ſugar, and the proviſions which were delivered, amounted to 28,654 livres, 4 ſols ‡, the remainder was to be paid in Europe by the proprietors of the habitations, who all belonged to the province of Zeeland. Whether from inability, or through deſign, they refuſed to ratify an engagement entered into without their conſent. Three rich individuals of Amſterdam fulfilled the obligation, and became ſole proprietors of Berbice.

They conducted themſelves with prudence and moderation. They reſtored the antient plantations, they introduced a better method among thoſe who cultivated them; they added the culture of cacao to thoſe which were already know'n; but their capital was not ſufficient to raiſe the colony to that degree of proſperity of which it

* 1,833 l. 6 s 8 d. † 27,500 l. ‡ 1,193 l. 18 s. 6 d.

appeared

appeared to be ſuſceptible; 7,040,000 livres *, were thought neceſſary for this great object, and ſixteen ſhares, each of 4,400 livres†, were created. They were not able to diſpoſe of more than nine hundred and forty-one, upon which even the purchaſers did not furniſh more than 42 per cent. Thus the new capital was reduced to 1,573,352 livres ‡, out of which 1,320,000 livres § belonged to the former company for the ceſſion of all their property, ſo that the remainder of the money amounted to no more than 273,352 livres ‖.

THIS was a very ſmall ſum to anſwer the intended purpoſe. The proprietors were themſelves ſo well convinced of it, that in 1730, they required that every ſubject of the ſtate ſhould be allowed to trade to Berbice and to ſettle there, upon condition of paying in America ſix livres ¶ poll-tax for every white man, and for every Negro they ſhould place upon their habitation 55 livres ** per plantation, towards the eccleſiaſtical contribution; two and a half per cent. for all the merchandize which ſhould enter the colony, or for the proviſions which ſhould be carried out of it; and in Europe 3 livres †† per ton, for every thing they ſhould receive from the ports of the republic, and three livres‡‡ per ton for every article they ſhould ſend there. With theſe aſſiſt-

* 293,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
† 183 l. 6 s. 8 d.
‡ 65,556 l. 6 s. 8 d.
§ 55,000 l.
‖ 11,389 l. 13 s. 4 d.
¶ 5 s.
** 2 l. 5 s. 10 d.
†† 2 s. 6 d.
‡‡ 2 s. 6 d.

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ances, the company engaged to defray all the expences that ſhould be wanted for government, for defence, for the police, and for the legiſlation of that ſettlement. The ſtates general approved of this plan, and gave it the ſanction of their laws, by a decree of the 6th December 1732.

A TOLERABLE degree of activity was the fortunate reſult of theſe new arrangements. Every thing was in a proſperous ſtate, when in 1756, the white people, and they alone, were attacked with an epidemical diſorder which laſted ſeven years, and deſtroyed the greateſt number of them. The ſtate of weakneſs to which Berbice was reduced by this calamity, encouraged the ſlaves to rebel in 1763. Upon the firſt intimation of this inſurrection, twenty ſoldiers, and a few coloniſts who had eſcaped the contagion, took refuge upon four veſſels that were in the river, and ſoon after ſecured themſelves in a redoubt built near the ocean. They were at length enabled, by the aſſiſtance ſent from all quarters to them, to return to their plantations, and even to ſubdue the Negroes; but their authority was eſtabliſhed only upon ruins and upon dead bodies.

THE company being ruined, as well as the inhabitants, were obliged to call upon the holders of ſhares, for a contribution of eight per cent. which made up the ſum of 330,000 livres *, and to borrow 1,100,000 livres †, of the province of Holland, at the intereſt of two and a half per cent. Theſe ſums not being yet ſufficient to ful-

* 13,750l. † 45,833l. 6s. 8d.

fil

fil their obligations, they obtained of the republic in 1774, that the taxes levied till this period ſhould for the future be doubled. The new taxes threw the planters, already too much diſcouraged by the total loſs of their cacao trees, and by the enormous reduction of the price of their coffee, into deſpair. Accordingly this ſettlement, upon which ſo great hopes had been founded, is continually decreaſing.

THERE are but one hundred and four plantations in the colony, moſt of which are inconſiderable, ſcattered at great diſtances upon the banks of the river Berbice, or upon that of Canje, which empties itſelf in the firſt, at three leagues diſtance from the ſea. Their population conſiſts of ſeven thouſand ſlaves of every age and ſex, and of two hundred and fifty white men, excluſive of the ſoldiers, who ought to amount to the ſame number. The coffee, the ſugar, and cotton they produce annually, is conveyed to the mother-country upon four or five ſhips, and is not ſold for more than one million, or twelve hundred thouſand livres *. From this ſum an intereſt of ſix per cent. ought to be deducted, which the coloniſts have engaged to pay for about 1,760,000 livres †, which they have borrowed; but this is an obligation which it is not in their power to fulfil. The lenders are obliged to be ſatisfied with four, three, or two per cent. Several of them even do not receive any thing.

* From 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 50,000 l.

† 73,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

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ALTHOUGH, according to the calculations delivered in 1772 to the States General, the annual expences of ſovereignty, do not exceed in Europe and in America 190,564 livres *; the company are nevertheleſs in a deſperate ſituation. From 1720 to 1763, the united dividends have not amounted to more than 61 per cent. which makes, one year with another, no more than $1\frac{1}{4}\frac{8}{10}$. After this period there hath been no more dividend. Accordingly, the ſhares which have coſt 2,200 livres †, are no longer marketable, they would not ſell for 110 livres ‡. A very different idea muſt be formed of the colony of Eſſequibo.

Antiquity of the colony of Eſſequibo. Cauſe of it's proſperity, after having remained for a long time in a languid ſtate.

THIS river, twelve leagues diſtant from that of Berbice, firſt attracted the attention of the Dutch, who, as well as the other Europeans, infeſted Guyana with their plunders towards the end of the ſixteenth century, in hopes of finding gold there. It is unknown at what preciſe period they ſettled at Eſſequibo; but it is certain, that they were driven from it by the Spaniards in 1595.

IT is evident, that theſe republicans returned to their poſt, ſince they were again expelled from it in 1666 by the Engliſh, and even they could not maintain themſelves there for one whole year. This ſettlement, which had always been inconſiderable, was reduced to nothing when the Dutch retook poſſeſſion of it. In 1740, it's productions did not form more than the cargo of one ſingle veſſel.

* 7,940l. 3s. 4d. † 91l. 13s. 4d. ‡ 4l. 11s. 8d.

Two

Two or three years after, ſome of the coloniſts of Eſſequibo, turned their attention towards the neighbouring river of Demerary. It's borders were found very fertile, and this diſcovery was attended with fortunate circumſtances.

For ſome time paſt the clearing of the lands had been ſuſpended at Surinam, by the bloody and ruinous war which the coloniſts ſuſtained againſt the Negroes aſſembled in the woods. Berbice was likewiſe diſturbed by the revolt of it's ſlaves. The Weſt India company ſeized this favourable opportunity of inviting enterpriſing men of all nations, to ſhare in the grant that had been made to them. Thoſe who arrived there with a ſmall ſhare of property, received gratuitouſly a certain extent of territory, with ſome other encouragements. They were even aſſured, that after their firſt labours, they ſhould obtain a loan of the value of three fifths of the ſettlements they ſhould have formed upon moderate terms. This arrangement became a fruitful ſource of induſtry, of activity, and of œconomy. In 1769, there were already eſtabliſhed upon the banks of the Demerary, one hundred and thirty habitations, in which ſugar, coffee, and cotton were cultivated with ſucceſs. The number of plantations hath much increaſed ſince that period, and it will ſtill increaſe a great deal more.

Such is the ſtate of the three colonies, which the Dutch have ſucceſſively formed in Guyana. It is deplorable, and will remain ſo for a long while, perhaps for ever, unleſs government in their wiſdom, in their generoſity, and in their courage,

Confuſion that prevails in the Dutch colonies.

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courage, can ſuggeſt ſome expedient to relieve the planters from the oppreſſive burthen of the debts which they have contracted.

In modern times, the governments themſelves have ſet the example of loans. The facility of obtaining them at an intereſt more or leſs burthenſome, hath engaged, or ſupported almoſt all of them, in wars, incompatible with their natural reſources. This folly hath infected the cities, the provinces, and the ſeveral aſſociations of men. The large trading companies have alſo greatly extended this cuſtom; and it hath afterwards become familiar to bold men, urged by their diſpoſition, to extraordinary enterpriſes.

The Dutch, who, in proportion to their territory and to their population, had accumulated a greater quantity of metals than any other people, and who did not find a uſe for them in their own tranſactions, extenſive even as they were, have endeavoured to place them to advantage in the public funds of all nations, and even in the ſpeculative undertakings of individuals. Their money hath ſerved particularly to cultivate ſome foreign colonies in America, and principally their own. But the precaution they had taken of having the plantations of their debtors mortgaged to them, hath not produced the effect which they expected from it. They have never been reimburſed their capital, and have even never received the intereſt of their money, ſince the proviſions of thoſe ſettlements have been reduced in their price. The contracts made with the planters, who are reduced to a ſtate of indigence, have fallen

fallen fifty, ſixty, eighty per cent. below their original value.

THIS is a matter totally ruinous. It would be in vain to examine, whether it muſt be attributed to the avidity of the merchants ſettled at Amſterdam, or to the inactivity and idle expences of the coloniſts removed beyond the ſeas. Theſe diſcuſſions would not diminiſh the evil. We will leave ſuch idle queſtions to be diſcuſſed by idle men, let them write and diſpute; if no good ſhould reſult from this, there is not much harm in it. But it is exertion, and not diſcourſe, that is required in a conflagration. While time would be loſt in examining what hath been the cauſe of the fire, what ravages it hath made, and what it's progreſs hath been, the building would be reduced to aſhes. A matter of a very urgent nature ſhould engage the attention of the States General. Let them relieve that vaſt extent of country ſubject to Holland, from the river Poumaron to that of Marony, from the anxiety it labours under, and from the miſery with which it is oppreſſed, and let them afterwards remove the other obſtacles which ſo obſtinately impede it's advancement.

THAT difficulty which ariſes from the climate, appears the moſt unſurmountable. In this region, the year is divided between continual rains and exceſſive heats. Diſguſting reptiles are inceſſantly attacking the crops purchaſed by the moſt aſſiduous labours. The coloniſts run the riſk of periſhing, either by dropſies, or by fevers of all kinds. Authority is unavailing againſt theſe

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theſe ſcourges of nature. The only remedy, if there can be one, muſt be the work of time, of population, and of the clearing of the lands.

WHAT the laws can, and what they ought to do, would be to unite to the body of the republic, poſſeſſions which are in a manner caſually abandoned to private aſſociations, who do not attend ſufficiently, or in a proper manner, to the ſeveral parts of adminiſtration in the countries ſubject to their monopoly. States have been all convinced, ſooner or later, of the inconvenience of leaving the provinces they have invaded in the other hemiſphere to chartered companies, whoſe intereſts ſeldom coincided with thoſe of the public. They have at length underſtood, that the diſtance did not alter the nature of the expreſs, or tacit covenant made between adminiſtration and the ſubjects; and that when the ſubjects have ſaid we will obey, we will ſerve, we will contribute to the formation and to the maintenance of the public ſtrength, and that the miniſtry have anſwered, we will protect you within by our police and by our laws; and without by negotiations and by arms, theſe conditions ought equally to be fulfilled on both ſides, from one bank of a river to the oppoſite ſide, from one ſhore of the ſea to that which is oppoſed to it; they have underſtood, that the ſtipulated protection being withdraw'n, the obedience and the promiſed ſuccours were of courſe ſuſpended; that if the aſſiſtances ſhould be required, when the protection had ceaſed, adminiſtration would degenerate into a tyrannical ſyſtem of plunder; and that the people were

were releaſed from the oath of fidelity towards them; that they were entitled to free themſelves from a bad maſter, and at liberty to chuſe another; that they returned to a ſtate of abſolute freedom, and recovered the prerogative of inſtituting any form of government that might be thought moſt ſuitable to them. From theſe circumſtances, ſtates have concluded, that their ſubjects of the New World, had as much right as thoſe of the Old, to depend upon government only; and that their colonies would be in a more flouriſhing condition under the immediate protection of the ſtate, than under that of any intervening power. The ſucceſs hath generally demonſtrated the ſolidity of theſe views. None but the United Provinces have adhered to the original plan. This infatuation cannot laſt; whenever it ſhall be diſſipated, the revolution will be effected without commotion, becauſe none of the aſſociations which muſt be aboliſhed, have any intereſt in oppoſing it: it will even be accompliſhed without embarraſſment, becauſe none of thoſe aſſociations have one ſingle veſſel, or carry on the leaſt trade. The Dutch poſſeſſions in Guyana, will then form one entire ſtate, capable of making ſome reſiſtance.

In the preſent ſtate of things, Berbice and Eſſequibo, are ſcarce able to repulſe an enterpriſing pirate, and would be obliged to capitulate at the appearance of the ſmalleſt ſquadron. The eaſtern part, which by it's wealth is expoſed to greater danger, is better defended. The entrance of the Surinam river is not very practicable on account of

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of it's ſand-banks. Ships, however, that do not draw more than twenty feet water, can come in at flood. At two leagues from it's outlet, the Commenwine joins the Surinam. This point of union the Dutch have principally fortified. They have erected a battery on the Surinam, another on the right bank of the Commenwine, and on the left bank, a citadel called Amſterdam. Theſe works form a triangle; and their fires, which croſs each other, are contrived to have the double effect of preventing ſhips from proceeding further up one river, and from entering into the other. The fortreſs is ſituated in the middle of a ſmall moraſs, and is inacceſſible, except by a narrow cauſeway entirely commanded by the artillery. It requires no more than eight or nine hundred men to garriſon it completely. It is flanked with four baſtions, and ſurrounded with a mud rampart, a wide ditch full of water, and a good covered way: for the reſt, it is unprovided with powder magazines, hath no vaults, nor any kind of caſement. Three leagues higher up on the Surinam is a maſked battery, intended to cover the harbour and town of Paramabiro. It is called, Fort Zeeland. A battery of the ſame kind, which they call Sommeſwelt-fort, covers the Commenwine at nearly the ſame diſtance. The forces of the colony conſiſt of it's militia and twelve hundred regulars, and of two companies of artillery.

If this ſettlement were united to the two others, and if all theſe divided territories were joined, they would mutually aſſiſt each other. The republic itſelf, accuſtomed to caſt a watchful eye upon

upon a domain become more particularly it's own property, would protect it with all it's power. The ſea and land forces would be employed to ſhelter it from the dangers with which it might be threatened on the ſide of Europe, and to relieve it from the ſtate of anxiety with which it is continually agitated even in the continent.

The Dutch exerciſed againſt the Negroes in Guyana, cruelties unknow'n in the iſlands. The facility of deſertion in an immenſe territory, hath probably occaſioned this exceſs of barbarity. A ſlave is put to death by his maſter upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, in preſence of all the other ſlaves, but with the precaution of keeping the white men out of ſight, becauſe they alone might give their teſtimony in a court of juſtice, againſt this uſurpation of public authority.

These cruelties have ſucceſſively driven to the foreſts, a conſiderable multitude of theſe deplorable victims of an infamous avarice. A ſharp and bloody war hath been carried on againſt them without a poſſibility of deſtroying them. Their independence hath at length been neceſſarily acknowleged, and ſince theſe remarkable treaties they have formed ſeveral hamlets, where they cultivate in peace, upon the back ſettlements of the colony, the proviſions they are abſolutely in want of for their ſubſiſtence.

Other Negroes have forſaken their manufactures. Theſe fugitives fall unexpectedly, ſometimes upon one ſide of the colony, ſometimes upon another, in order to carry off ſupplies for their own ſubſiſtence, and to lay waſte the wealth of

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their former tyrants. It is in vain that the troops are kept continually upon the watch, to check or to ſurpriſe ſo dangerous an enemy. By means of private information, they contrive to eſcape every ſnare, and direct their incurſions towards thoſe parts which happen to be left defenceleſs.

METHINKS I ſee thoſe people who were ſlaves in Egypt, and who, taking refuge in the deſerts of Arabia, wandered for the ſpace of forty years, attempted to make incurſions upon all the neighbouring people, haraſſed them, penetrated alternately among ſome of them, and by ſlight and frequent inroads paved the way for the invaſion of Paleſtine. If nature ſhould chance to add a great ſoul, and a powerful underſtanding to the outward form of a Negro; if ſome European ſhould aſpire to the glory of being the avenger of nations that have been oppreſſed during two centuries; if even a miſſionary ſhould know how to avail himſelf properly of the continual and progreſſive aſcendent of opinion over the variable and tranſient empire of ſtrength,—but alas! muſt the cruelty of our European policy inſpire ſanguinary ideas, and ſuggeſt plans of deſtruction to an equitable and humane man, whoſe thoughts are engaged in ſecuring the peace and happineſs of all mankind?

THE republic will prevent the ſubverſion of their ſettlements, by laying a ſalutary reſtraint on the caprices and extravagances of their ſubjects. They will alſo take effectual meaſures to bring into their own ports the fruits of their labours, which

which hitherto have been too often throw'n into another channel.

THE principal proprietors of Dutch Guiana reſide in Europe. There are ſcarcely to be found in the colony any inhabitants, but the factors of theſe wealthy men, and ſuch proprietors, whoſe fortunes are too moderate to admit of their intruſting the care of their plantations to other hands. The conſumption of ſuch inhabitants muſt be extremely confined. Accordingly, the veſſels which are ſent from the mother-country to bring home their produce, carry out nothing but abſolute neceſſaries; very ſeldom any articles of luxury, and but few of them. Even this ſcanty ſupply the Dutch traders are forced to ſhare with the Engliſh of North America.

THOSE foreigners were at firſt admitted only, becauſe the colony was under a neceſſity of purchaſing horſes of them. The difficulty of breeding, and, perhaps, other cauſes, have eſtabliſhed this permiſſion. The bringing of horſes is ſo indiſpenſible a paſſport for the men, that a ſhip which does not carry a number proportionate to it's ſize is not admitted into their harbours. But if the horſes happen to die in their paſſage, it is ſufficient that their heads are produced, to entitle the owners to expoſe to ſale all kinds of proviſions. There is a law forbidding payments to be made otherwiſe than by barter of molaſſes and rum; but this law is little attended to. The Engliſh, newly arrived, who have uſurped the right of importing thither whatever they chooſe, take care to export the moſt valuable commodities of the colony, and even exact payments in money or bills of ex-

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change on Europe. Such is the law of force, which republics apply, not only to other nations, but to each other. The Engliſh treat the Dutch nearly in the ſame manner as the Athenians did the people of Melos. *It has ever been the caſe*, ſaid they to the inhabitants of that iſland, *that the weakeſt ſhould ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt: this law is not of our making; it is as old as the world, and will ſubſiſt as long as the world endures.* This argument, which is ſo well calculated to ſuit the purpoſes of injuſtice, brought Athens in it's turn under the dominion of Sparta, and at length deſtroyed it by the hands of the Romans.

The loſſes incurred by the Dutch, muſt render the republic very careful of their American poſſeſſions.

THE United Provinces have not given to their American ſettlements that attention they deſerved, although they have met with ſtrokes ſo ſevere, and ſo cloſely following upon each other, as ought to have opened their eyes. If they had not been blinded by the rapidity of their ſucceſs, they would have diſcovered the beginning of their ruin in the loſs of Brazil. Deprived of that vaſt acquiſition, which in their hands might have become the firſt colony of the univerſe, and might have compenſated the weakneſs or inſufficiency of their territory in Europe, they ſaw themſelves reduced to the condition they were in before they had made this conqueſt, of being factors for other nations; and thus was created, in their maſs of real wealth, a void which hath never ſince been filled up.

THE conſequences of the act of navigation, paſſed in England, were not leſs fatal to the Dutch. From this time that iſland, ceaſing to be a tributary to the trade of the republic, became

came her rival, and in a ſhort time acquired a deciſive ſuperiority over her in Africa, Aſia, and America.

HAD other nations adopted the policy of Britain, Holland muſt have ſunk under the ſtroke. Happily for her, their kings knew not, or cared not, for the proſperity of their people. Every government, however, in proportion as it has become more enlightened, has aſſumed to itſelf it's own branches of commerce. Every ſtep that has been taken for this purpoſe, hath been an additional check upon the Dutch; and we may preſume, from the preſent ſtate of things, that ſooner or later every people will eſtabliſh a navigation for themſelves, ſuited to the nature of their country, and to the extent of their abilities. To this period the courſe of events in all nations ſeems to tend; and whenever it ſhall arrive, the Dutch, who are indebted for their ſucceſs, as much to the indolence and ignorance of their neighbours, as to their own œconomy and experience, will find themſelves reduced to their original ſtate of poverty.

IT is not certainly in the power of human prudence to prevent this revolution; but there was no neceſſity to anticipate it, as the republic has done, by chooſing to interfere as a principal in the troubles which ſo frequently have agitated Europe. The intereſted policy of our times would have afforded a ſufficient excuſe for the wars ſhe hath commenced or ſuſtained for the ſake of her trade. But upon what principle can ſhe juſtify thoſe in which her exorbitant ambition, or ill-

founded apprehenſions, have engaged her? She has been obliged to ſupport herſelf by immenſe loans: if we ſum up together all the debts ſeparately contracted by the generalities, the provinces, and the towns, which are all equally public debts, we ſhall find they amount to two thouſand millions of livres*; the intereſt of which, though reduced to two and a half *per cent.* hath amazingly increaſed the load of taxes.

OTHERS will perhaps examine, whether theſe taxes have been laid on with judgment, and collected with due œconomy. It is ſufficient here to remark, that they have had the effect of increaſing ſo conſiderably the price of neceſſaries, and conſequently that of labour, that the induſtrious part of the nation have ſuffered ſeverely from them. The manufactures of wool, ſilk, gold, ſilver, and a variety of others, have ſunk, after having ſtruggled for a long time under the growing weight of taxes and ſcarcity. When the ſpring equinox brings on at the ſame time high tides and the melting of the ſnow, a country is laid under water by the overflowing of the rivers. No ſooner does the increaſe of taxes raiſe the price of proviſions, than the workman, who pays more for his daily conſumption, without receiving any addition to his wages, forſakes the manufacture and workſhop. Holland hath not preſerved any of it's internal reſources of trade, but ſuch as were not expoſed to any foreign competition.

* 83,333,333 l. 6s. 8d.

THE

The husbandry of the republic, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, that is to say, the herring-fishery, hath scarce suffered less. This fishery, which for a long time was entitled the gold mine of the state, on account of the number of persons who derived their subsistence, and even grew rich from it, is not only reduced to one-half, but the profits of it, as well as those of the whale fishery, are dwindled by degrees to nothing. Nor is it by advances of specie, that those who support these two fisheries embark in the undertaking. The partnerships consist of merchants, who furnish the bottoms, the rigging, the utensils, and the stores. Their profit consists almost entirely in the vent of these several merchandises: they are paid for them out of the produce of the fishery, which seldom yields more than is sufficient to defray it's expences. The impossibility there is in Holland of employing their numerous capitals to better advantage, has been the only cause of preserving the remains of this ancient source of the public prosperity.

The excessive taxes, which have ruined the manufactures of the republic, and reduced the profits of their fisheries so low, have greatly confined their navigation. The Dutch have the materials for building at the first hand. They seldom cross the sea without a cargo. They live with the strictest sobriety. The lightness of their ships in working is a great saving in the numbers of their crews; and these crews are easily formed, and always kept in the greatest perfection, and at a small expence, from the multitude of sailors

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ſwarming in a country which conſiſts of nothing elſe but ſea and ſhore. Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, which are further increaſed by the low rate of money, they have been forced to ſhare the freight trade of Europe with Sweden, Denmark, and eſpecially the Hamburgers, with whom the neceſſary requiſites for navigation are not incumbered with the ſame impoſitions.

With the freights have diminiſhed the commiſſions which uſed to be ſent to the United Provinces. When Holland was become a great ſtaple, merchandize was ſent thither from all parts, as to the market where the ſale of it was moſt ready, ſure, and advantageous. Foreign merchants were the more ready oftentimes to ſend them thither, as they obtained, at an eaſy rate, credit to the amount of two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of the value of their goods. This management inſured to the Dutch the double advantage of employing their capitals without riſque, and obtaining a commiſſion beſides. The profits of commerce were at that time ſo conſiderable, that they could eaſily bear theſe charges: they are now ſo greatly leſſened, ſince experience has multiplied the number of adventurers, that the ſeller is obliged to convey his commodity himſelf to the conſumer, without the intervention of any agent. But if upon certain occaſions an agent muſt be employed, they will prefer, *cæteris paribus*, thoſe ports where commodities pay no duty of import or export.

The republic hath likewiſe loſt the trade of inſurance, which ſhe had in a manner monopolized formerly.

formerly. It was in her ports that all the nations of Europe uſed to inſure their freights, to the great profit of the inſurers, who, by dividing and multiplying their riſques, ſeldom failed of enriching themſelves. In proportion as the ſpirit of inquiry introduced itſelf into all our ideas, whether of philoſophy or œconomy, the utility of theſe ſpeculations became univerſally know'n. The practice became familiar and general; and what other nations have gained by it, was of courſe loſt to Holland.

From theſe obſervations it is evident, that all the branches of commerce the republic was in poſſeſſion of, have been very greatly diminiſhed. Perhaps the greater part of them would have been annihilated, if the quantity of her ſpecie, and her extraordinary œconomy, had not enabled her to be ſatisfied with a profit of three *per cent.* which we look upon to be the value of the product upon all her trade. This great deficiency has been made up to them by veſting their money in the Engliſh, French, Auſtrian, Saxon, Daniſh, and even Ruſſian funds, the amount of which, upon the whole, is about ſixteen hundred millions of livres*.

Formerly the ſtate made this branch of commerce unlawful, which is now become the moſt conſiderable of any. Had this law been obſerved, the ſums they have lent to foreigners would have lain unemployed at home; their capitals for the uſe of trade being already ſo large, that the leaſt

* 66,666,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

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addition to them, ſo far from giving an advantage, would become detrimental, by making the amount too great for uſe. The ſuperfluity of money would immediately have brought the United Provinces to that period, in which exceſs of wealth begets poverty. Millions of opulent perſons, in the midſt of their treaſures, would not have had a ſufficiency to ſupport themſelves.

THE contrary practice hath been the principal reſource of the republic. The money ſhe has lent to neighbouring nations, has procured her an annual balance in her favour, by the revenue accruing from it. The credit is always the ſame, and produces always the ſame intereſt.

WE ſhall not preſume to determine how long the Dutch will continue to enjoy ſo comfortable a ſituation. Experience authoriſes us only to declare, that all governments which have, unfortunately for the people, adopted the deteſtable ſyſtem of borrowing, will, ſooner or later, be forced to give it up; and the abuſe they have made of it will moſt probably oblige them to defraud their creditors. Whenever the republic ſhall be reduced to this ſtate, her great reſource will be in agriculture.

THIS, though it be capable of improvement in the county of Breda, Bois-le-Duc, Zutphen, and Gueldres, can never become very conſiderable. The territory belonging to the United Provinces is ſo ſmall, that it will almoſt juſtify the opinion of a Sultan, who ſeeing with what obſtinacy the Dutch and Spaniards diſputed with each other the poſſeſſion of it, declared, if it belonged to him, he would

would order his pioneers to throw it into the ſea. The ſoil is good for nothing but fiſh, which, before the Dutch, were the only inhabitants of it. It has been ſaid with as much truth as energy, that the four elements were but in embryo there.

THE exiſtence of the republic in Europe is precarious, from their poſition in the middle of a capricious and boiſterous element which ſurrounds them, which perpetually threatens them, and againſt which they are obliged to maintain means of defence as expenſive as a numerous army; from formidable neighbours, ſome on the ſeas, and others on the continent; from the barrenneſs of the ſoil, which produces nothing of what is abſolutely required for daily ſubſiſtence. Without any wealth of their own, their magazines, which are at preſent filled with foreign merchandize, may be to-morrow either empty or over-ſtocked, whenever the nations ſhall either chuſe to ceaſe the furniſhing of them with any, or ſhall no longer require any from them. Expoſed to every kind of want, their inhabitants will be forced to leave their country, or to die with hunger upon their treaſures, if they cannot be relieved, or if ſuccours be refuſed to them. If it ſhould happen that the nations ſhould become enlightened with reſpect to their intereſts, and ſhould reſolve to carry their productions themſelves to the different regions of the earth, and to bring back upon their own ſhips thoſe which they ſhall receive from thence in exchange, what will become of theſe uſeleſs carriers? Deprived of original materials, the poſſeſſors of which are at liberty to prohibit

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hibit the exportation of, or to fix them at an exorbitant price, what will become of their manufactures? Whether the deſtiny of any power ſhould depend upon the wiſdom or upon the folly of others, that power is almoſt equally an object of compaſſion. Without the diſcovery of the New World, Holland would be nothing, England would be inconſiderable, Spain and Portugal would be powerful, and France would be what ſhe is, and what ſhe will ever remain, under whatever maſter, and under whatever form of government ſhe may be placed. A long ſeries of calamities may plunge her into misfortunes, but thoſe misfortunes will be only temporary, ſince nature is perpetually employed in repairing her diſaſters. And this is the enormous difference there is between the condition of an indigent people, and that of a people rich in their territory. The latter can exiſt without all other nations, while theſe can ſcarce exiſt without them. Their population muſt be inceſſantly increaſing, if a bad adminiſtration do not retard the progreſs of it. Several ſucceſſive years of general dearth will only bring on a tranſient inconvenience, if the wiſdom of the ſovereign ſhould provide againſt it. They ſcarce ſtand in need of any allies. If the combined policy of all the powers ſhould concur in refuſing to purchaſe their commodities: they would ſtill experience nothing more, than the inconvenience of ſuperfluity, and the diminution of their luxury, an effect which would turn to the advantage of their ſtrength, which is enervated, and of their manners, which

 are

are corrupted. True riches they are in poſſeſſion of, and have no need to go in ſearch of them at a diſtance: ſo that the ſuperabundance or ſcarcity of the metal, which repreſents their felicity, can be of no avail either for or againſt it.

DEPRIVED of theſe advantages in Europe, the republic muſt ſeek them in America. Her colonies, though very inferior to the ſettlements formed there by moſt of the other nations, would furniſh productions, the whole profits and property of which will center in her. By her territorial acquiſitions ſhe will be enabled in every market to rival thoſe nations, whoſe commodities ſhe formerly ſerved only to convey. Holland, raiſed to the dignity of a ſtate, will ceaſe to be a warehouſe. She will find in another hemiſphere that conſiſtence which Europe hath denied her. It remains to ſee, if Denmark can have the ſame wants, and the ſame reſources.

Revolutions which have changed the ſtate of Denmark.

DENMARK and Norway, which are at preſent united under the ſame government, formed, in the eighth century, two different ſtates. While the former ſignalized itſelf by the conqueſt of England, and other bold enterpriſes, the latter peopled the Orcades, Fero, and Iceland. Urged by that reſtleſs ſpirit, which had always actuated their anceſtors the Scandinavians, this active nation, ſo early as the ninth century, formed an eſtabliſhment in Greenland, which country, there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, is attached to the American continent. It is even thought, notwithſtanding the darkneſs which prevails over all the

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the hiſtorical records of the north, that there are ſufficient traces to induce a belief, that their navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coaſts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and that they left ſome ſmall colonies on them. Hence it is probable, that the Norwegians have a right to diſpute with Columbus the glory of having diſcovered the New World; at leaſt, if thoſe may be ſaid to have made the diſcovery, who were there without knowing it.

The wars which Norway had to ſuſtain, till the time it became united to Denmark; the difficulties which the government oppoſed to it's navigation; the ſtate of oblivion and inaction into which this enterpriſing nation fell; not only loſt it it's colonies in Greenland, but alſo whatever ſettlements or connections it might have had on the coaſts of America.

It was not till more than a century after the Genoeſe navigator had begun the conqueſt of that part of the world under the Spaniſh banner, that the Danes and Norwegians, who were then become one nation, caſt their eyes upon that hemiſphere, which was nearer to them than to any of thoſe nations, who had already poſſeſſed themſelves of different parts of it. They choſe, however, to make their way into it by the ſhorteſt courſe, and therefore, in 1619, they ſent captain Munk to find out a paſſage by the north-weſt into the Pacific Ocean. His expedition was attended with as little ſucceſs as thoſe of many other navigators, both before and after him.

It

It may be preſumed, that a diſappointment in their firſt attempt would not entirely have diſguſted the Danes; and that they would have continued their American expeditions till they had ſucceeded in forming ſome ſettlements, that might have rewarded them for their trouble. If they loſt ſight of thoſe diſtant regions, it was becauſe they were forced to it by an unfortunately obſtinate war, which humbled and tormented them, and laſted till the year 1660.

The government ſeized the firſt moment of tranquillity to examine the condition of the ſtate. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided between an elective chief, the nobility or ſenate, and the commons. The king enjoyed no other pre-eminence than that of preſiding in the ſenate, and commanding the army. In the intervals between the Diets the government was in the hands of the ſenate: but all great affairs were referred to the Diets themſelves, which were compoſed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty.

Though this conſtitution be formed upon the model of liberty, no country was leſs free than that of Denmark. The clergy had forfeited their influence from the time of the reformation. The citizens had not yet acquired wealth ſufficient to make them conſiderable. Theſe two orders were overwhelmed by that of the nobility, which was ſtill influenced by the ſpirit of the original feudal ſyſtem, that reduces every thing to force. The critical ſituation of the affairs of Denmark did not inſpire this body of men with that juſtice or moderation, which the circumſtances of the time required.

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quired. They refuſed to contribute their proportion to the public expences; and by this refuſal exaſperated the members of the Diet. But, inſtead of exterminating this proud race, which was deſirous of enjoying the advantages of ſociety, without partaking the burthen of it, they reſolved to ſubmit to unlimited ſervitude, and voluntarily put on chains themſelves, which the nobles would never have ventured to impoſe upon them by force, or with which they would perhaps have in vain attempted to load them.

At this ſtrange and humiliating ſpectacle, is there any one who will not aſk, what is man? What is that original and deep ſenſe of dignity which he is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs? Is he born for independence or for ſlavery? What is that ſenſeleſs herd of men which we call a nation? And when, on reviewing the globe, the ſame phænomenon, and the ſame meanneſs, are diſplayed in a greater or leſs degree from one pole to the other, is it poſſible that pity ſhould not be extinguiſhed, and that in the contempt which ſucceeds to it we ſhould not be tempted to exclaim: Baſe and ſtupid people, ſince the continuity of oppreſſion doth not reſtore to you any energy; ſince you confine yourſelves to unavailing groans, when you might make your oppreſſors tremble; ſince there are millions of you, and that yet you ſuffer yourſelves to be led at pleaſure by a few infants, armed with deſpicable weapons, continue ſtill to obey. Go on without troubling us with your complaints; and learn at leaſt how to be unhappy, if you know not how to be free.

The

THE Danes had no ſooner ſubmitted to one ſingle chief, than they fell into a kind of lethargic ſtate. To thoſe great convulſions, which are occaſioned by the claſhing of important rights, ſucceeded the deluſive tranquillity of ſervitude. A nation, which had filled the ſcene for ſeveral ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, it juſt recovered ſo far from the trance, into which the acceſſion of deſpotiſm had throw'n it, as to look abroad, and take poſſeſſion of a little American iſland, know'n by the name of St. Thomas.

The Danes form ſettlements in the iſlands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz.

THIS iſland, the fartheſt of the Caribbees towards the weſt, was totally uninhabited, when the Danes undertook to form a ſettlement upon it. They were at firſt oppoſed by the Engliſh, under pretence that ſome emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. The Britiſh miniſtry ſtopped the progreſs of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of ſugar, ſuch as a ſandy ſoil, of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and a half in breadth, would admit of. Theſe improvements, which were at that time very rare in the American Archipelago, were brought on by particular cauſes.

THE Elector of Brandenburg had formed, in 1681, a company for the Weſtern part of Africa. The object of this aſſociation was to purchaſe ſlaves; but they were to be ſold again; and that could be done in no other place than in the New World. It was propoſed to the court of Verſailles to receive them in their poſſeſſions, or to cede

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cede Santa-Cruz. Theſe two propoſals being equally rejected, Frederic William turned his views towards St. Thomas. Denmark conſented in 1685, that the ſubjects of this enterpriſing prince ſhould eſtabliſh a factory in the iſland, and that they ſhould carry on a free trade there, upon condition of paying the taxes eſtabliſhed, and of agreeing to give an annual ſtipend.

They were then in hopes of furniſhing the Spaniſh colonies, which were diſſatisfied with England and Holland, with the Negroes which thoſe provinces were continually in want of. The treaty not having taken place, and the vexations being inceſſantly multiplied, even at St. Thomas's, the tranſactions of the inhabitants of Brandenburg were always more or leſs unfortunate. Their contract, however, which had been only made at firſt for thirty years, was renewed. Some few of them ſtill belonged to it, even in 1731; but without any ſhares or any charter.

Nevertheless, it was neither to the productions, nor to the undertakings of the inhabitants of Brandenburg, that the iſland of St. Thomas was indebted for it's importance.

The ſea has hollowed out from it's coaſt an excellent harbour, in which fifty ſhips may ride with ſecurity. This advantage attracted both the Engliſh and French Buccaneers, who were deſirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were ſubject to pay in the ſettlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the windward iſlands, they

they put into that of St. Thomas to diſpoſe of them. It was alſo the aſylum of all merchant ſhips which frequented it as a neutral port in time of war. It was the mart, where the neighbouring colonies bartered their reſpective commodities which they could not do elſewhere with ſo much eaſe and ſafety. It was the port, from which were continually diſpatched veſſels richly laden to carry on a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh coaſts; in return for which, they brought back conſiderable quantities of metal and merchandize of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great conſequence.

Denmark, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The perſons who enriched themſelves were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other ſituations. The mother-country had no other communication with it's colony than by a ſingle ſhip, ſent out annually to Africa to purchaſe ſlaves, which being ſold in America, the ſhip returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719 their traffic increaſed by the clearing of the iſland of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half ſo large. Theſe ſlender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab Iſland, or Bourriquen, where it had been attempted to form a ſettlement two years before.

This iſland, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a conſiderable number of hills; but they are neither barren, ſteep, nor very high. The ſoil of the plains and vallies, which

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run between them, ſeems to be very fruitful; and is watered by a number of ſprings, the water of which is ſaid to be excellent. Nature, at the ſame time that ſhe has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the fineſt bays that can be conceived. At every ſtep ſome remains of plantations, rows of orange and lemon trees, are ſtill found; which make it evident, that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not further diſtant than five or ſix leagues, had formerly ſettled there.

The Engliſh, obſerving that ſo promiſing an iſland was without inhabitants, began to raiſe ſome plantations there towards the end of the laſt century; but they had not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were ſurpriſed by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto-Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making ſome attempts to ſettle there in 1717. But the ſubjects of Great Britain, reclaiming their ancient rights, ſent thither ſome adventurers, who were at firſt plundered, and ſoon after driven off, by the Spaniards. The jealouſy of theſe American tyrants extends even to the prohibiting of fiſhing-boats to approach any ſhore where they have a right of poſſeſſion, though they do not exerciſe it. Too idle to proſecute cultivation, too ſuſpicious to admit induſtrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab Iſland to eternal ſolitude; they will neither inhabit it themſelves, nor ſuffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of excluſive

excluſive ſovereignty has obliged Denmark to give up this iſland for that of Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz had a better title to become an object of national ambition: It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and Engliſh. Their rivalſhip in trade ſoon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a ſpot from which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in ſecuring the conſequences of their victory; when, in 1650, they were attacked and driven out in their turn by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived there in five ſhips. The triumph of theſe laſted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the iſland, ſurrendered without reſiſtance to a hundred and ſixty French, who had embarked in 1651, from St. Chriſtopher's, to make themſelves maſters of the iſland.

These new inhabitants loſt no time in making themſelves acquainted with a country ſo much diſputed. On a ſoil, in other reſpects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate ſize, which, gliding gently almoſt on a level with the ſea through a flat country, furniſhed only a brackiſh water. Two or three ſprings, which they found in the innermoſt parts of the iſland, made but feeble amends for this defect. The wells were for the moſt part dry. The conſtruction of reſervoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting

to the new inhabitants. The iſland being flat, and covered with old trees, ſcarce afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poiſonous vapours, with which it's moraſſes clogged the atmoſphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; which was to burn the woods. The French ſet fire to them without delay; and, getting on board their ſhips, became ſpectators from the ſea, for ſeveral months, of the conflagration they had raiſed in the iſland. As ſoon as the flames were extinguiſhed, they went on ſhore again.

They found the ſoil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and ſugar, flouriſhed equally in it. So rapid was the progreſs of this colony, that, in eleven years from it's commencement, there were upon it eight hundred and twenty-two white perſons, with a proportionable number of ſlaves. It was rapidly advancing to proſperity, when ſuch obſtacles were throw'n in the way of it's activity as made it decline again. This decay was as ſudden as it's riſe. In 1696 there were no more than one hundred and forty-ſeven men, with their wives and children, and ſix hundred and twenty-three blacks remaining; and theſe were tranſported from hence to St. Domingo.

Some obſcure individuals, ſome writers unacquainted with the views of government, with their ſecret negotiations, with the character of their miniſters, with the intereſts of the protectors and the protected, who flatter themſelves that

that they can diſcern the reaſon of events, amongſt a multitude of important or frivolous cauſes, which may have equally occaſioned them, who do not conceive, that among all theſe cauſes, the moſt natural may poſſibly be the fartheſt from the truth, who after having read the news, or journal of the day, with profound attention, decide as peremptorily as if they had been placed all their life-time at the helm of the ſtate, and had aſſiſted at the council of kings; who are never more deceived than in thoſe circumſtances, in which they diſplay ſome ſhare of penetration; writers as abſurd in the praiſe as in the blame which they beſtow upon nations, in the favourable or unfavourable opinion they form of miniſterial operations: theſe idle dreamers, in a word, who think they are perſons of importance, becauſe their attention is always engaged on matters of conſequence, being convinced that courts are always governed in their deciſions by the moſt comprehenſive views of profound policy, have ſuppoſed, that the court of Verſailles had neglected Santa Cruz, merely becauſe they wiſhed to abandon the ſmall iſlands, in order to unite all their ſtrength, induſtry, and population in the large ones; but this is a miſtaken notion: this determination, on the contrary, aroſe from the farmers of the revenue, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their intereſts. The ſpirit of finance hath in all times been injurious to commerce; it hath deſtroyed the ſource from whence it ſprang.

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Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was ſold by France to Denmark for 738,000 livres *. Soon after the Danes built there the fortreſs of Chriſtianſtadt.

THEN it was, that this northern power ſeemed likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately, ſhe laid her plantations under the yoke of excluſive privileges. Induſtrious people of all ſects, particularly Moravians, ſtrove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the intereſts of the coloniſts and their oppreſſors, but without ſucceſs. The two parties kept up a continual ſtruggle of animoſity, not of induſtry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from it's conſtitution, purchaſed, in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at 9,900,000 livres †, part of which was paid in ready money, and the remainder in bills upon the treaſury, bearing intereſt. From this time the navigation to the iſlands was opened to all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions.

Unfortunate ſtate of the Daniſh iſlands. Meaſures proper to be adopted by government to relieve them.

ON the firſt of January 1773, there were reckoned in St. John ſixty-nine plantations, twenty-ſeven of which were devoted to the culture of ſugar, and forty-two to other productions of leſs importance. There were exactly the ſame number at St. Thomas, and they had the ſame deſti-

* 30,750l. † 412,500l.

nation,

nation, but were much more conſiderable. Of three hundred and forty-five plantations, which were ſeen at Santa Cruz, one hundred and fifty were covered with ſugar canes. In the two former iſlands, the plantations acquire what degree of extent it is in the power of the planter to give them, but in the laſt, every habitation is limited to three thouſand Daniſh feet in length, and two thouſand in breadth.

St. John is inhabited by one hundred and ten white men, and by two thouſand three hundred and twenty-four ſlaves: St. Thomas, by three hundred and thirty-ſix white men, and by four thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſix ſlaves: Santa Cruz, by two thouſand one hundred and thirty-ſix white men, and by twenty-two thouſand two hundred and forty-four ſlaves. There are no freed men at St. John's, and only fifty-two at St. Thomas, and one hundred and fifty-five at Santa Cruz; and yet the formalities required for granting liberty, are nothing more than a ſimple inrollment in a court of juſtice. If ſo great a facility hath not multiplied theſe acts of benevolence, it is becauſe they have been forbidden to thoſe who had contracted debts. It hath been apprehended, that the debtors might be tempted to be generous at the expence of their creditors.

This law appears to me a very prudent one; with ſome mitigation it might be of ſervice, even in our countries. I ſhould very much approve, that all citizens inveſted with honourable functions, either at court, in the army, in the church, or

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or in the magiſtracy, ſhould be ſuſpended whenever they ſhould be legally ſued by a creditor, and that they ſhould be unremittingly deprived of their rank whenever they ſhould be declared inſolvent by the tribunals. It appears to me, that money would then be lent with more confidence, and borrowed with greater circumſpection. Another advantage which would accrue from ſuch a regulation, would be, that the ſubaltern orders of men, who imitate the cuſtoms and the prejudices of the higher claſs of citizens, would ſoon be apprehenſive of incurring the ſame diſgrace; and that fidelity in engagements would become one of the characteriſtics of the national manners.

The annual productions of the Daniſh iſlands, are reduced to a ſmall quantity of coffee, to a great deal of cotton, to ſeventeen or eighteen millions weight of raw ſugar, and to a proportionate quantity of rum. Part of theſe commodities are delivered to the Engliſh, who are proprietors of the beſt plantations, and in poſſeſſion of the ſlave trade. We have before us, at preſent, very authentic accounts, which prove, that from 1756 to 1773, that nation hath ſold, in the Daniſh ſettlements of the New World, to the amount of 2,307,686 livres 11 ſols *, and carried off to the value of 3,197,047 livres 5 ſols 6 deniers †. North America receives likewiſe ſome of theſe productions in exchange for it's cattle, for it's

* 96,153 l. 12 s. 1½ d. † 133,210 l. 6s. 0¾ d.

wood,

wood, and for it's flour. The remainder is conveyed to the mother-country upon forty-ſhips of one hundred, and from that to four hundred tons burthen. The greateſt part is conſumed in Denmark, and there is ſcarcely ſold in Germany, or in the Baltic, for more than the value of one million of livres *.

THE lands ſuſceptible of cultivation in the Daniſh iſlands are not all tilled, and thoſe which are, might be improved. According to the opinion of the beſt informed men, the produce of theſe poſſeſſions might eaſily be increaſed by one third, or perhaps by one half.

ONE great obſtacle to this increaſe of riches, is the extremely narrow circumſtances of the coloniſts. They owe 4,500,000 livres † to government, 1,200,000 livres ‡ to the trade of the mother-country, and 26,630,170‖ livres to the Dutch, who, from the immenſity of their capitals, and the impoſſibility of employing them all themſelves, neceſſarily become the creditors of all nations.

THE avidity of the treaſury puts freſh reſtraints upon induſtry. The proviſions and merchandize which are not peculiar to the country, or which have not been brought upon Daniſh veſſels, are obliged to pay 4 per cent. upon their departure from Europe. The national and foreign commodities equally pay 6 per cent. on

* 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 187,500 l. ‡ 50,000 l.
‖ 1,109,590 l. 8 s. 4 d.

their

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their arrival in the iſlands; 18 livres* are required for every freſh Negro brought in, and a poll-tax of 4 livres 10 ſols †. Some heavy duties are laid upon ſtampt paper; an impoſt of 9 livres ‡ for each thouſand foot ſquare of ground, and the tenth of the price of every habitation that is ſold. The productions are all ſubjected to five per cent. duty on their leaving the colonies, and to three per cent. on their arrival in any of the ports of the mother-country, excluſive of the duties which are paid for rum when conſumed in retail. Theſe tributes collectively bring in to the crown an income of eight or nine hundred thouſand livres ‖.

It is time that the court of Copenhagen ſhould give up theſe numerous and oppreſſive taxes. Well-grounded motives of intereſt ought certainly to ſuggeſt the ſame kind of conduct to all the powers that have poſſeſſions in the New World. But Denmark is more particularly compelled to this act of generoſity. The planters are loaded with ſuch enormous debts, that they will never be able to repay the capitals, and cannot even make good the arrears, unleſs the treaſury ſhould entirely drop every kind of claim upon them.

But can ſuch a prudent meaſure be expected, either in Denmark or elſewhere, as long as the public expences ſhall exceed the public reve-

* 15 s. † 3 s. 9 d. ‡ 7 s. 6 d.
‖ From 33,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. to 37,500 l.

nues;

nues; as long as the fatal events, which, in the preſent order, or rather diſorder of things, are perpetually renewed, ſhall compel adminiſtration to double, or to treble the burthen of their unfortunate, and already overloaded ſubjects; as long as the councils of the ſovereigns ſhall act without any certain views, and without any ſettled plan; as long as miniſters ſhall conduct themſelves, as if the empire, or their functions, were to end the next day; as long as the national treaſures ſhall be exhauſted by unparalleled depredations, and that it's indigence ſhall only be removed by extravagant ſpeculations, the ruinous conſequences of which will not be perceived, or will be neglected, for the trifling advantages of the moment? and to make uſe of an energetic, but true metaphor, one that is terrifying, but ſymbolical of what is practiſed in all countries; as long as the folly, the avarice, the diſſipation, the degradation, or the tyranny of the rulers, ſhall have rendered the treaſury ſo much exhauſted or rapacious, as to induce them to *burn the harveſt, in order the more ſpeedily to collect the price of the aſhes!*

If the treaſury were by chance to become wiſer and more generous in Denmark than they have been, or than they are in any other part of the globe, the iſlands of St. Thomas, of St. John, and of Santa-Cruz, might poſſibly proſper, and their productions might, in ſome meaſure, compenſate for the trifling value of thoſe of the mother-country.

The

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Rapid ſketch of the Daniſh power.

THE provinces which at preſent conſtitute the domains of this ſtate in Europe, were formerly independent of each other. Revolutions, moſt them, of a ſingular nature, have united them into one kingdom. In the center of this heterogeneous compoſition are ſome iſlands, the principal of which is called Zealand. It has an excellent port, though in the eleventh century it was but a little fiſhing town; it became a place of importance in the thirteenth; in the fifteenth, the capital of the kingdom; and, ſince the fire in 1728, which conſumed ſixteen hundred and fifty houſes, it is a handſome city. To the ſouth of theſe iſlands is that long and narrow peninſula, which the ancients called the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus. Jutland, Sleſwick, and Holſtein, the moſt important and extenſive parts of this peninſula, have been ſucceſſively added to the Daniſh dominions. They have been more or leſs flouriſhing, in proportion as they have felt the effects of the reſtleſſneſs of the ocean, which ſometimes retires from their coaſts, and ſometimes overwhelms them. In theſe countries, one may ſee a perpetual ſtruggle between the inhabitants and the ſea, an inceſſant conteſt, the ſucceſs of which hath always been equivocal. The inhabitants of ſuch a country will be free from the moment they feel that they are not ſo. Mariners, iſlanders, and and mountaineers, will not long remain under the yoke of deſpotiſm.

NOR is Norway, which conſtitutes part of the Daniſh dominions, more adapted to ſervitude. It

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is covered with ſtones or rocks, and interſected by chains of high and barren mountains. Lapland contains only a few wild people, either ſettled upon the ſea-coaſts, for the ſake of fiſhing, or wandering through frightful deſerts, and ſubſiſting by the chace, by their furs, and their rein-deer. Iceland is a miſerable country, which has been many times overturned by volcanos and earthquakes, and conceals within it's bowels a quantity of combuſtible matter, which in an inſtant may reduce it to a heap of ruins. With reſpect to Greenland, which the common people look upon as an iſland, and which geographers conſider as united towards the weſt to the American continent; it is a vaſt and barren country, condemned by nature to be eternally covered with ſnow. If ever theſe countries ſhould become populous, they would be independent of each other, and of the king of Denmark, who thinks at preſent that he rules over their wild inhabitants, becauſe he calls himſelf their king, while they know nothing of the matter.

The climate of the Daniſh iſlands in Europe is not ſo ſevere as might be conjectured from the latitude they lie in. If the navigation of the gulphs, which ſurround them, be ſometimes interrupted, it is not ſo much by ice formed there, as by what is driven thither by the winds, and by degrees collects into a maſs. All the provinces which make part of the German continent, except Jutland, partake of the German temperature. The cold is very moderate even on the coaſts of Norway.

way. It rains there often during the winter, and the port of Berghen is ſcarcely once cloſed by ice, while thoſe of Amſterdam, Lubec, and Hamburgh, are ſhut up ten times in the courſe of the year. It is true, that this advantage is dearly purchaſed by thick and perpetual fogs, which make Denmark a diſagreeable and melancholy reſidence, and it's inhabitants gloomy and low-ſpirited.

The population of this empire is not proportioned to it's extent. In the earlier ages it was ruined by continual emigrations. The piratical enterpriſes which ſucceeded to theſe, kept up this ſtate of poverty, and anarchy prevented the government from remedying evils of ſuch magnitude and importance. The double tyranny of the prince over one order of his ſubjects, who fancy themſelves to be free, under the title of nobles, and of the nobility over a people entirely deprived of liberty, extinguiſhes even the hopes of an increaſe of population. The bills of mortality of all the ſtates of Denmark, excepting Iceland, taken together, make the deaths in 1771 amount only to 55,125; ſo that, upon the calculation of thirty-two living to one dead perſon, the whole number of inhabitants does not amount to more than 1,764,000.

Independent of many other cauſes, the weight of impoſts is a great obſtacle to their proſperity. There are fixed taxes payable on land, arbitrary ones collected by way of capitation, and daily ones levied on conſumption. This oppreſſion is the

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more unjuſt, as the crown poſſeſſes a very conſiderable domain, and hath likewiſe a certain reſource in the ſtreights of the Sound. Six thouſand nine hundred and thirty ſhips, which, if we may judge from the accounts of the year 1768, annually paſs into or out of the Baltic, pay at the entrance of that ſea about one per cent. upon all the commodities they are laden with. This ſpecies of tribute, which, though difficult to collect, brings in to the ſtate two millions five hundred thouſand livres *, is received in the bay of Elſinoor under the guns of the caſtle of Chronenburg. It is aſtoniſhing, that the ſituation of this bay, and that of Copenhagen, ſhould not have ſuggeſted the idea of forming a ſtaple here, where all the commercial nations of the north and ſouth might meet, and exchange the produce of their climates and their induſtry.

With the funds ariſing from tributes, domains, cuſtoms, and foreign ſubſidies, this ſtate maintains an army of twenty-five thouſand men, which is compoſed of foreigners, and is reckoned the very worſt body of troops in Europe. On the other hand, it's fleet is in the higheſt reputation. It conſiſts of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, and of one and thirty ſhips of war, but of inferior rates. Twenty-four thouſand regiſtered ſeamen, moſt of whom are continually employed, form a certain reſource for their navy. To their military expences, the government have of late years

* 104,166l. 13s. 4d.

added

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added others, for the encouragement of manufactures and arts. If we add to theſe, four millions of livres * for the neceſſary expences and amuſements of the court, and about the ſame ſum for the intereſt of the national debt, amounting to ſeventy millions †; we ſhall account for the diſtribution of twenty-three millions of livres ‡, which form the revenue of the crown.

If it was with a view of ſecuring theſe ſeveral branches, that the government, in 1736, prohibited the uſe of jewels, and gold and ſilver ſtuffs, we may venture to ſay, there were plainer and eaſier means to be uſed for that purpoſe. They ſhould have aboliſhed that multitude of difficulties, which clog the commercial intercourſe of the citizens, and hinder a free communication between the different parts of the kingdom. The trade of Iceland, of Greenland, of the States of Barbary, and the whale fiſhery, ſhould have been laid open to all the traders of the nation. The trade of the iſlands of Fero, abſurdly given up to the ſovereign, ſhould have been reſtored to the people. All the members of the ſtate ſhould have been freed from the obligation that was impoſed upon them in 1726, of providing themſelves with wine, ſalt, brandy, and tobacco from Copenhagen itſelf.

In the preſent ſtate of affairs, their exportations are but ſmall. In the provinces on the German

* 166,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 2,916,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.
‡ 958,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

continent,

continent, they conſiſt of five or ſix thouſand beeves, three or four thouſand horſes fit for cavalry, and ſome rye, which is ſold to the Swedes and Dutch. For ſome years paſt, Denmark hath conſumed all the wheat, which Fionia and Aland uſed to export to other nations. Thoſe two iſlands, as well as Zealand, have now no other traffic but in thoſe magnificent harneſſes, which are purchaſed at ſo dear a rate by all who love fine horſes. The trade of Norway conſiſts of herrings, timber, maſts, tar, and iron. Lapland and Greenland produce furs. From Iceland is procured cod, whale blubber, the oil of ſeals, and manatees, ſulphur, and that luxurious down ſo celebrated under the name of eider-down.

We ſhall cloſe here the details, into which the commerce of Denmark hath neceſſarily led us; and which are ſufficient to convince that power, that nothing contributes ſo much to her intereſt as having the ſole poſſeſſion and traffic of all the productions of her American iſlands. Let us warn her, that the more limited her poſſeſſions are in the New World, the more attentive ought ſhe to be, not to ſuffer any of the advantages ſhe may derive from them to eſcape her: let us warn her, as well as all the governments of the earth, that the diſeaſes of empires are not among the number of thoſe which are cured of themſelves; that they grow more inveterate with age, and that it is ſeldom their cure is facilitated by fortunate circumſtances; that it is almoſt always dangerous to put off, to a diſtant period,

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either the accompliſhing of any good purpoſe we may have in view, or the removal of any evil we may expect to remedy at the time; that for one inſtance of ſucceſs obtained by temporiſing, hiſtory affords a thouſand, where the favourable opportunity hath been miſſed for having been too long waited for; that the ſtruggles of a ſovereign are always thoſe of a ſingle man againſt all, unleſs there be ſeveral ſovereigns, who have one common intereſt between them; that alliances are nothing more than preparations for treachery; that the power of a feeble nation grows only by imperceptible degrees, and by efforts which are always thwarted by the jealouſy of other nations, unleſs it ſhould emerge at once from it's ſtate of mediocrity by the daring exertions of ſome impatient and formidable genius; that a man of ſuch genius may be waited for a long time, and that even he riſques every thing, ſince his attempts may terminate equally in the aggrandizement of the ſtate or in it's total ruin. Let us warn Denmark in particular, that while ſhe is expecting the appearance of this man of genius, the ſafeſt thing for her is to be ſenſible of her poſition, and the wiſeſt, is to be convinced, that if powers of the firſt claſs ſeldom commit faults without impunity, the leaſt negligence on the part of ſubaltern ſovereignties, which have not any ſpeedy or great reſource in the poſſeſſion of immenſe and opulent territories, cannot but be attended with fatal conſequences. Let us not conceal from her, that all petty ſtates

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are deſtined to aggrandize themſelves or to diſappear, and that the bird which dwells in a barren climate, and lives amidſt arid rocks, ought to act as a bird of prey.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.